

AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIFE  
OF  
*Apollonius Tyaneus.*

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By M. *Le Nain de Tillemont.*

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Translated out of French.

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To which are added,  
Some OBSERVATIONS  
UPON  
*APOLLONIUS.*

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THE  
PREFACE



**M** the Author of this Account of the Life of Apollonius Tyanicus, has written the History of the Roman Emperors and other Princes, during the Six first Centuries of the Church, and likewise Ecclesiastical Memoirs, in many Volumes, with great Learning and Judgment. And in this Work he gives an Account not only of the Persecutions raised against the Church, and of whatever else



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## The Preface.

else had happened, wherein Religion was concerned, but of Profane Writers, and of all Persons of Note and Eminency in their several Times. But in his Advertisement before his first Tome of his *History of the Emperors*, he acquaints the Reader, that the Account of *Apollonius* was of too great Length to be made an Addition only to the History of *Domitian*, that therefore in his second Tome (from whence it is here translated) he had assigned it a distinct Title, and that probably this would be the only instance, wherein he should find occasion to insert such a Discourse thus by it self. So that this was designed by him, as an entire Treatise, and stands apart



apart from the rest of his History.

The Doctors of the Sorbon in their Approbation, before his First Tome of *Ecclesiastical Memoirs*, declare in behalf of this Excellent Author, that they are answerable to the World for his Sincerity and Exactness, that he advances nothing, but upon undeniable Proofs, that he is modest and cautious even to a Scruple, that Humility, which is his true Character, appears throughout the whole Work, in every part whereof there is discernible an extraordinary degree of Learning.

As to his Performance in the Life of *Apollonius Tyanens*,

A 4 M. Boyle



M. Boyle in his *Dictionary* declares, that having resolved to write a large Account of *Apollonius*, he found himself prevented by M. de Tillemont, who had given so full and exact a Relation of all that was remarkable in his Life, that nothing remained for him to say, which had not been before observed by M. de Tillemont. And therefore M. Boyle is very short in his Discourse of *Apollonius*, and inserts it, as he says, only for Form's sake.

He all along cites M. de Tillemont, and in some few Passages makes Remarks upon him. When he says, that *Philostratus* makes it a point of Merit in *Apollo-nius*, that at Cadis, he stirred

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up the Governour of the Country against Nero, and that the other Philosophers made no more scruple of it than he, and then observes, that it is the Christian Religion, which has taught Subjects the True Principles of Obedience : It is remarked by M. Boyle, that Christianity has very great and excellent Advantages above all Philosophy ; but then he adds, that in the present point, for more than these Thousand Years, there has been little Reason to insult the Philosophers. He observes, that *Philostratus* reckons it, an Heroick Exploit to have Raised a Rebellion against *Domitian*, and then says, that this Impostor had aped the Son of God in many things, but that in the  
Case

Case of Obedience and Patience he discovered himself, he yielded the Point, and there is no Comparison in the Case. M. Boyle likewise declares, that it is not to be doubted, but that the Life of *Apollonius* by *Philostratus* contains a Thousand fabulous Stories, or, if the Facts be true, that they can be attributed to nothing but Magick.

M. Boyle remarks in Contradiction to M. de Tillemont, that *Apollonius* was worshipped in the beginning of the Fourth Century, tho' under the Name of *Hercules*, and that *Lactantius* was more acute than solid, in saying of him, (a) *ideo alieni nominis titulo affectavit divinitatem, quia suo nec poterat, nec audebat.*

(a) Lactant.  
lib. 5. c. 3.



*audēbat*. M. Boyle says, *Apollonius* did not affect it, but the *Ephesians* chose to worship him under that Name: He says further, that he cannot persuade himself, that the People of *Tyana* left off the Worship of *Apollonius* in the beginning of the Fourth Century, or that they had taken his Images out of all their Temples. To make this good he refers to the Words of *Vopiscus*, which he had before cited, and produces the Testimony of *Eusebius* to prove, that in his Time Wonders were reported to be done by the Invocation of the Name of *Apollonius*, and alledges an Epistle of *Marcellinus* to St. *Austin*, to shew that in that time a ridiculous Pretence was made,

as

as M. Boyle's Words are, to parallel the Miracles of *Apollonius* with those of Christ, or to prefer them before His.

(b) Fertur enim — Apollonium Thyaneum — amicum verum Deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum recipienti se (Aureliano) in tentorium eâ formâ, quâ videtur, subito astitisse. Vopisc. in Aurelian.

But (b) *Vopiscus* says nothing to M. Boyle's purpose; he extols *Apollonius* indeed very highly, and says, that he deserved Divine Honours, not that they were then paid him. *Marcellinus* speaks of Miracles, which were pretended to have been done formerly, and were now opposed to those of our Saviour. And if this Citation prove any thing, it must (c) prove, that

(c) *Apollonium* siquidem suam nobis & *Apuleium*, aliisq; magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt extitisse miracula. *Marcellini ad Augustinum Epist. inter Epistolas August. 4ta.* Αὐτὰρ τῶν νῦν εἰσὶ οἱ μέγιστοι μηχανὰς τῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνακειμένης περὶ σπουδαίας κατεργασμένης λέγουσι. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ οἷον τούτοις περὶ τοῦ νῦν. Euseb. in Hier.

*Apuleius*

*Apuleius* was then likewise worshipped, who is there mentioned in the same Rank, and upon the same occasion with *Apollo-nius*; and not *Apuleius* alone, but other Magicians. But can it be supposed, that all these had Divine Worship given them in the Fourth Century? Besides, both *Marcellinus*, and *Eusebins* speak of the private Opinions of Men, not of publick Worship. So that there is no Reason to conclude, that *Apollonius* was worshipped as a God in the time of *Lactantius*, or in the beginning of that Century. *Lactantius* says, he affected Divine Worship under another's Name, that is, he was well pleased, and glad to be worshipped in that manner:

But



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But whatever becomes of the Expression, he must have told a manifest Falshood; if, as M. Boyle Imagines, the Worship of *Apollonius* had still obtained at that time in the World. And it must be allowed, that *Lactantius* is a better Witness of his own Times, than any one, that lives so long after, can be. (d) *Eun-*

(d) ἢν τὴν θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων  
μύσσην. — δῖον ἱπποδρῖμῶν εἰς  
ἀνθρώπους θεῶν καλεῖν (βίον Ἀ-  
πολλωνίου) Eunap. Proem.

*napius*, whom M. Boyle cites from M. de *Tillemont*, speaks only his own Opinion. Nothing therefore can be concluded against M. de *Tillemont* from any Citation produc'd by M. Boyle.

(e) ἀλλ' ἔδ' ὅτι  
φιλοσόφους παρ-  
τασι τῶν γυν.  
μαθήματος ἱππαρχ-  
ου αὐτοῦ. Euseb.  
in Hier.

It is strange, that M. Boyle should think, that (e) *Eusebins* might not very well and truly say

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say, that *Apollonius* was not so much as reckoned among the Philosophers by any of his time; tho' (f) *Am. Marcellinus* has (f) *Am. Marcell. l. XXIII. c. 6.* styled him the most famous Philosopher, he might come into Credit again under *Julian*. But it cannot be supposed, that *Eusebius* had enquired of all the Men of his time, what they thought of *Apollonius*, he spoke what the general Opinion of Men was then of him: And such Forms of Speech are never understood to mean more, by prudent and candid Readers.

But I must not omit, that *M. Boyle* takes notice, that *St. Austin* in his Answer to *Marcellinus*, prefers *Apollonius* before the Heathen *Jupiter*, which says  
M. Boyle,

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M. Boyle, should shame, I know not what sort of Modern Divines, who will not suffer us to look upon the Privation of the Knowledge of God, as a less Evil, than the Worship, which the Gentiles paid to their abominable Deities, who were worse according to St. *Austin* than the Magicians.

I wish some may not misunderstand M. Boyle so far, as to suppose this rather an Apology for Atheism, than meant in a just Detestation of the Heathen Religions. But as a little Acquaintance with Heathen Authors must needs make any Christian wonder at the Idolatries of the Heathen Worship, and at the same time abhor them: So  
common



common Sense will convince any Man of the Impiety and Folly of Atheism. To deny the very Being of God, must needs be a more wilful and heinous Sin, than to acknowledge his Being, but to be mistaken concerning his Attributes. The Subtilties and Stratagems of Satan, his Oracles and lying Wonders, the Prejudices and Prepossessions of Education and Example, might too easily prevail upon Men to follow their own vicious Inclinations in the Practice of Idolatrous Worship, and therefore *the times of this Ignorance God winked at.* But in the Existence of God the Voice of Nature it self, and the general Voice of Mankind agree ; and we never

awolb a read

read, that God at any time connived at Atheism. Indeed if the Being of God were a Subject, that could admit of any Dispute, and the Belief of him were a matter merely of Speculation, it would perhaps be worse to believe such Gods, as the Heathens worshipped, than to believe no God at all : Because it may seem less dishonourable to God to deny his Being, than to think and speak the worst things of him. But the Belief of God is a practical Notion, it is to believe a Governour of the World, on whom we depend, and to whom we are in Subjection : And therefore to deny God, is to deny this Subjection, and to disown

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disown any such Authority over us.

St. (g) *Austin* says, that *Apollonius* was much better than *Jupiter* : But how does it from thence follow, that Atheism is better than Heathen Theology ? Nothing that I can perceive follows from it, but that *Jupiter* was more unfit to be worshipped as a God than *Apollonius*, and that they were less culpable, who paid him Divine Worship, than the Worshipers of *Jupiter* were. The Gentiles taught some good things of their Gods, as well as many ill ;

(g) Quis autem vel risu dignum non putet, quod Apollonium, & Apuleium, ceterosq; magicarum Artium peritissimos conferre Christo, vel etiam præferre conantur? quamquam tolerabilius ferendum sit, quando istos ei potius comparant, quam Deos suos : multo enim melior (quod fatendum est) Apollonius fuit, quam tot stuprorum auctor & perpetrator, quem Jovem nominant. *Augustin. Epist. 5:*



and the Good and True Doctrines which they believed of their Gods, had their effect towards the Preservation of Society in the common Offices of Life : Whereas the Atheist had nothing, but his own Humour and Interest for his Rule of Living. the *Gentiles* represented their Gods to themselves like some Princes, who take great Liberties in their own Practice, which they will not endure in their Subjects, but keep the World in awe, and assume to themselves a kind of Prerogative of Exemption from those Virtues, which they expect in others. This shews the Unreasonableness of Atheism, that the Notion of God is naturally  
so

so impress'd on the Minds of Men, that all their Vices cannot deface it, tho' they mix many absurd Fancies and Contradictions with it ; and that there is something beneficial to Society in the very worst Religion, but nothing can be expected from Atheism, but what is of the most pernicious Consequence to Mankind.

M. Boyle maintains, that the *Hymn upon Memory* was not written by *Apollonius*, as M. de *Tillemont* thought, but by *Simonides*, tho' he owns that *Suidas* seems to ascribe it to *Apollonius*.

He condemns Mr. Blount's Notes upon *Philostratus*, for his profane Railery and petty Cavils: And indeed they seem to be as weak, and impertinent a mixture of Vanity, Ignorance, and Profaneness, as has ever appeared in the World. It is a Mistake to think, that the Life of *Apollonius Tyanens* is so formidable a Book, that it is not to be ventured among Christians in a Vulgar Language. For it was Printed near a Hundred Years ago at *Paris*, being translated into *French* by *Vigenere*, reviewed and corrected according to the Original Greek by *Morellius*, and published with large Commentaries of *Arthur Thomas* Sieur



Sieur d'Embry ; and the Edition was authorised by the *Royal Privilege*. But these Men had a better Design and a truer Judgment than our Deists, and had a juster sense of the Christian Religion, than to suspect that Men would be seduc'd from it by such Impositions.

*Nicomachus*, and *Tascius Victorianus* were not Writers of *Apollonius's* Life, but Men of Learning, who corrected the Copies of *Philostratus*, as they did those of *Livy*, and of many other Authors. And *Apollinaris Sidonius* did not compose the Life of *Apollonius*, nor translate it from *Philostratus*, as his

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Words seem to import, but only transcribed it. These seem to be the Reasons, why M. de Tillemont mentions no Author of *Apollonius's* Life but *Philostratus*, as M. Boyle takes notice, who thought fit to add *Nichomachus*, *Tascius Victorianus*, and *Apollinaris Sidonius*.

(b) Sirmond.  
Not. ad Apoll.  
Sidon. lib.  
VIII. Epist. 3.

But if he had consulted the (b) Notes of *Sirmondus* upon *Sidonius*, he would have found cause to omit them, as M. de Tillemont has done, who wrote with that Care and Judgment, that hardly any thing has escaped him.

I thought it might not be amiss, thus far to mention what M. Boyle has observed upon the  
the

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the Life of *Apollonius*. And as he has fully declared himself against this Impostor ; (x) so he says, that nothing more evidently shews the impertinent Credulity of the *Pagans*, than that they have affirmed, that *Apuleius* did so many Miracles, and that they equal or even surpass those of Jesus Christ.

(x) Dictionaire Histor. in Apulée.

It may be worth the remarking, that M. de Tillemont, besides what is contained in this Treatise, does in the Course of his *History of the Emperors* and of his *Ecclesiastical Memoirs*, find many Faults in the Life of *Apollonius* by *Philostatus*. He supposes, that *Philostatus*



(i) L'Emp.  
Ner. An. 12.  
13.

(k) L'Emp.  
Gabba Art. 6.

*stratus* was misled by the (i) Fictions of *Lucian*, and thinks it more probable, that he wrote in the strain of Romance, than that he can be reconciled to Truth: And (k) observing from him, that a Woman of *Syracuse* was delivered of a Child with Three Heads, which was shewn publickly to all that would come to see it, he adds, that it was no difficult matter for *Philostratus* to make his *Apollonius* Divine, that this Monster denoted the Three Emperors *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, who were the several Heads of the *Roman* Empire in less than One Year, and all Three together for some Hours. He seldom or

(l)

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(l) never quotes the Life of *Apollonius*, but with some Expression of Distrust, it is pretended, says he, and if we may believe *Philostratus*, He (m) observes, that the Philosophy of *Apollonius* could easily comply with many Crimes, and that *Philostratus* differs in the Account of *Domitian's* Death from the *Roman* Historians without Reason or Probability.

(l) L'Emp.  
Vespas. Art. 9.  
Tit. Art. 8.  
Nerv. p. 223.

(m) L'Emp.  
Domit. Art.  
19. 21.

All that I shall say of what concerns my self, is, to acquaint the Reader, that I had made these Observations upon *Apollonius Tyanens*, which are here annext, long before I knew of *M. de Tillemont's* Account of him, on a particular Occasion.

And

And having this Opportunity  
and hoping they may be of  
some use, I was not unwilling  
to suffer them to appear in so  
good Company.

*R. Fenkin.*



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*Adver-*



## *Advertisement.*

**M.** *De Tillemont* encloses his own Observations and Remarks in Crotchets [ ] All the rest is contained in the Authors referred to in the Margin. &c. put sometimes in the inward Margin, is to denote, that the thing is treated of more at large in the Author cited in the other Margin. And because, to save room, he uses Abbreviations in citing his Authors, he therefore prefixes a Catalogue of them before each Tome. This is all which seems peculiar to him in his manner of citing Authors, and therefore, in this short Work, the Reader needs not be acquainted with what he further says in his Advertisement concerning his Citations; only that in the inward Margin, he sometimes refers to his own History of the Emperors.

A. T. A.

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A TABLE of the Citations  
in M. de Tillemont's Account  
of the Life of Apollonius  
Tyanæus.

- Amm. n. p.* 267. **A**mmianus Marcellinus ex primâ  
recensione Henrici Valesii, cum  
ejusdem Notis. Parisiis anno. 1636.
- Apol. v. l. i.* *Apollonii Tyanæi Vita per Philostratum.*  
*c. 3. p. 5. d.* Parisiis anno 1608.
- Arri. ex Epic. l.* *Arriani Epictetus, seu Commentarii Dis-*  
*3. c. 15. p. 220.* *putationum Epicteti Lugduni anno*  
*1600.*
- Aug. Ep. B.* *Augustini Epist. editionis Benedicti-*  
*136. p. 401.* *norum.*
- Aurel. v. p.* *Aureliani Augusti Vita per Vopiscum in*  
*217. c.* *Augustâ Historiâ Parisiis anno 1620.*
- Bar. 99. S. 12.* *Baronii Annales anno Christi 99. Pa-*  
*ragrapho 12. Antuerpiæ anno 1612.*
- Ch. Alex. p.* *Chronicum Alexandrinum a Raderio*  
*590.* *editum Munachii anno 1615.*
- Codin. Orig.* *Georgii Codini Origines seu Antiquita-*  
*c. p. 4. b.* *tes Constantinopolitanæ Luteciæ an-*  
*no 1655.*

Chrysostomi



## A Table of the Citations, &c.

1. Chrys. in *Chrysostomi homilia 3. in Judæos To-*  
*Jud. h. 3. t. 1.* *mo primo. ex editione Parisiense an-*  
*p. 418.* *no 1639.*
- Dio l. 68. p. 785. a.* *Dionis Cassii historiarum libro 68. pag.*  
*785. Typis Wechelianis anno 1606.*
- Godeau. p. 246.* *Histoire Ecclesiastique de M. Godeau,*  
*Tome premier pag. 246. a Paris en*  
*1663.*
1. *Eun. Præf.* *Eunapii Sophistæ præfatio in Vitas Phi-*  
*p. 11. 12.* *losophorum, Geneva anno 1616.*
2. *Euf. Chr. n.* *Eusebii Chronicon, cum Scaligeri Notis.*  
*p. 129. 1.* *p. 129. col. 1. Lugduni Batav. an-*  
*no 1658.*
3. *Euf. Dem. l.* *Eusebii de Demonstratione Evangelicâ.*  
*3. c. 3. p. 105.* *Parisiis anno 1627.*
4. *Euf. Præp. l.* *De Præparatione Evangelicâ. Parisiis*  
*4. c. 13. p. 150.* *anno 1628.*
5. *Euf. in Hier.* *In Hieroclem lib. cum Philostrato Edi-*  
*p. 434.* *tus Parisiis anno 1608.*
- Hier. in Is. c.* *Hieronymus in Isaia caput 13. p. 148.*  
*13. p. 548.* *Tom. 5.*
- Jons. l. 3. c. 5.* *Joannis Jonsii de scriptoribus Historiæ*  
*p. 465.* *Philosophicæ, Francofurti anno 1659.*
- Lact. l. 5. c. 3.* *Lactantii Institutionum contra Gentes*  
*p. 465.* *lib. 5. c. 3. Leydæ anno 1660.*
- Lamp. p. 123.* *Lampridius in Historiâ Augusta Pari-*  
*sis anno 1620.*

Luciani



## A Table of the Citations, &c.

- Luci. v. Alex.* *Luciani Vita Alexandri præstigiatoris,*  
*p. 476. c.* *sen Psuedomantis Edit. Paris. anno*  
*1615.*
- Lloyd. p. 151.* *Dictionary Historicum, &c. per Ni-*  
*colaum Lloyd auctum Oxonii anno*  
*1671.*
- Pearf. Post. p. 49.* *Joannis Pearsonii Episcopi Cestriensis*  
*opera Postuma, Londini anno 1688.*
- Philist. Soph. 31. p. 568. c.* *Philostrati de Vitis Sophistarum cap.*  
*31. Parisiis anno 1608.*
- Phot. c. 44. p. 29.* *Photii Bibliothecæ caput seu codex 44.*  
*Genevæ anno 1602.*
- Plin. l. 6. c. 26. p. 127. c. f.* *Plinii Majoris Historia Naturalis lib.*  
*6. cap. 26. pag. 127. Francofurti*  
*anno 1599.*
- 2. Str. l. 16. p. 738. a.* *Strabonis lib. 16. pag. 738. Parisiis*  
*anno 1620.*
- 1. Spart. n. c. p. 229. c.* *Casauboni Notæ in Spartianum & alios*  
*Augustæ Historiæ Scriptores Parisiis*  
*anno 1620.*
- Suid. a. p. 377. d.* *Suidæ Lexicon in litera α. pag. 377.*  
*Genevæ anno 1619.*
- Tac. hi. l. 3. n. 83. p. 80.* *Cornelii Taciti Historiarum lib. 3. Lip-*  
*sii not. 83. p. 80. Parisiis Edit. an-*  
*no 1608.*
- Voss. h. gr. l. 2. c. 15. p. 235.* *Vossii de Historicis Græcis lib. 2. cap.*  
*15. Leydæ anno 1650.*



*[The page contains faint, illegible text from the reverse side of the leaf.]*

Note upon the *LIFE* of Apol-  
lonius, p. 10.

**M.** De Tillemont translates *τεία ἡμί-  
πλεθρα*, *un arpent & demi*, and  
intimates, that this was an odd way of  
measuring. *Arpent* I find, signifies a  
Furlong as well as an Acre: But *πλέ-  
θρον* signifies not only an Acre, but the  
Sixth part of a Furlong, that is, LXVIII.  
Cubits, or C. Feet, as we learn from  
*Suidas*. So that *τεία ἡμίπλεθρα* make  
CL. Feet, which was the Height of the  
Walls of *Babylon* according to *Phila-  
stratus*. And this was no unusual way  
of Measuring: For the Breadth of the  
*Tiber*, at *Rome*, is thus described by  
*Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *ἡ τὸ μὲν ἑυρέ-  
στι τετράγων πλέθρων*. *Rom. Antiqu. Lib.*  
*IX. p. 460. Ed. R. Steph. and Xenophon*,  
as he is cited by *Suidas*, speaking of the  
Palm Trees about *Babylon*, says, *πλεθραῖς  
φοίνικας φύτεσθαι*. *Suid. in πλεθρ.*



~~Not upon the Life of Apol.~~  
The Reader is desired to take Notice,  
that throughout the Preface, by a Mi-  
stake of the Press, *M. Boyle* is put for  
*M. Bayle*.

### ERRATA.

**P**Ref. p. 18. Marg. f. suam r. suum. p. 10. Marg. f.  
Life of Apol. p. 8. l. 12. f.  
acquired r. required. p. 14. l. 1. after was. r. not.  
p. 18. l. 17. f. Achin. r. Achaia. p. 20. l. 26. f. Ca-  
taret r. Cataract. p. 29. l. 1. after to, r. good. p. 31.  
ly 67 r. Philostratus. p. 34. l. 26. after be r. publick-  
ly. p. 36. l. 4. f. adoring the Lion r. causing the Lion  
to be adored. l. 13. r. Lucullus. p. 39. Marg. r. La-  
rario. Observ. upon Apol. p. 47. l. 20. f. Domitian  
r. Nerva. p. 54. l. 8. r. ἀπολεσθῆναι. p. 56. l. 5. f.  
Wine r. Winds. p. 58. l. ult. f. from r. for. p. 60. l.  
ult. r. Iarchas. p. 64. l. 18. r. τὸ πᾶν, p. 73. l. 19.  
f. Senses r. Sense.



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A N  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
LIFE  
OF  
APOLLONIUS TYANEUS,  
The Famous  
*Philosopher and Magician.*

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By M. Le Nain de Tillemont.

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[T]HE Desire, which I have  
to clear all, that may con-  
cern the History of the Church,  
obliges me to say something of  
B the



# The LIFE of

the famous *Apollonius Tyanens*]

\* Godeau.  
p. 246.

\* one of the most dangerous enemies, which at its Birth the Church had, by reason of the seeming Innocence of his Life, and of his Pretence to Miracles.

\* *Apoll. v. l. i. c. 3. p. 5. d.*

\* The Devil, according to his own Panegyrist, seems to have sent him into the World [about the same time that Jesus Christ was pleased to appear in it, either to rival his Authority in the Judgment of those, who might take the Delusions of this Magician for true Miracles] \* Or to the end that those, who had discovered him to be an arrant Cheat and Magician, might be enduced to doubt also of the Miracles of Jesus Christ and his Disciples.

\* Godeau.  
p. 246.

\* *Euseb. in Hier. p. 434. b. c. l. 483.*

\* *Hierocles* [the noted Enemy of the Christians in the time of *Diocletian*] ventured to make

See the Persecution of *Diocletian.*

\* *Aug. Ep. B. 136. p. 401. a. l. 138. S. 18. p. 417. f. g.*

this Comparison of *Apollonius* with Jesus Christ, \* in which some there were, that followed him



him [He was quickly confuted by *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, whose Work is still extant, and one may there see part of what may be said on this Subject, which my Design, being only that of an Historian, doth not suffer me to enter upon.]

\* The Life of *Apollonius* was \* *Apoll. v. l. r.*  
 first written by *Damis*, who was *c. 3. p. 4. d.*  
 originally of *Ninos* [or *Nineve*]  
 the most intimate with him of  
 all his Disciples. \* And this \* *P. 5.*  
 Life, which was truly nothing  
 else but Memoirs very indiffe-  
 rently written, falling into the  
 hands of *Julia* the Empress, the  
 \* Wife of *Severus*, (a) she gave \* *Voss. h. gr.*  
 them to *Philostratus*; who from *l. 2. c. 15. p.*  
 these, and from what he could *235.*  
 collect out of the Works of (a) *Apoll. v. l.*  
*Apollonius* himself, and from *1. c. 2. 3. p. 4.*  
*5. b. c. 3. p.*  
 some other Memoirs, compos'd  
 that History, which we now  
 have. (b) He speaks of one (b) *Euseb. in*  
*Maximus Aegienfis*, who had *Hier. p. 435.*  
 written a Book, concerning *Apol-*  
*lonius,*

(c) *Apoll.* v. l.  
i. c. 3. p. 5. b.

*lonius*, and (c) of one *Moeragenes*, who had written four Books. But he would not concern himself with the last, [whose Narrative was not perhaps very favourable to his Hero. I will therefore make a short Abridgment of *Philostratus*, both to observe the Chronology, and to the end, that we may not be wholly ignorant, what sort of Man this was, whom the Devil made use of, as the notorious Instrument of his Malice] and \* who was the Ape of Jesus Christ, as a famous Author of our Age calls him.

\* *Godeau.* p.  
247.

\* *C.* ii. p. 18.  
a | l. 8. c. 12.  
p. 428. b |

\* If he lived above a Hundred Years, as some affirm [he must have been born about the same time with our Saviour, three or four Years, before the common *Æra*, since we shall find, that he died in the Year 96 of this *Æra*, or very little after.] \* He was born at *Tyana* in *Cappadocia* [from whence he took the Sur-name,

\* *Suid.* a. p.  
377. d.



name, by which all those that speak of him, distinguish him from other *Apollonij*] and \* he \* *Apol. v. l. 1. c. 3. p. 5. c. 1. 7. c. 16.* was himself well enough pleased to be so called. \* His Birth is \* *P. 366. c. 1. 1. c. 3. 4. p. 5. 6.* described as accompanied with divers Prodigies, \* which *Euse-* \* *Euseb. in Hier. p. 445. c. d.* bins so much the rather derides, because it would have been hard to find out any Testimonies to confirm them, [tho' if the Devil had told his Mother, that she should have a Devil for her Son, the event sufficiently confirm'd it.] \* At fourteen Years of Age \* *Apol. v. l. 1. c. 5. p. 7. d. p. 8, b. c.* he went to study at *Tarsus* [the chief City of *Cilicia*] and \* little after at *Ægæ* [which is also in *Cilicia*] It was here, that he learned the Philosophy of *Pythagoras* of a very debauched Master, named *Euxenes*: And at \* Six- \* *P. 9.* teen Years of Age, in a House in the Country, he entred upon the *Pythagorean* way of Life, abstaining from Wine, and all sorts of Animals, \* wearing no \* *C. 6. p. 10. a.* Shoes, suffering his Hair to grow

## The LIFE of

at its full Length, and putting on no Garments, but such as were of Linnen, that he might be sure to have nothing of any Animal about him. \* He de-

\* C. 10. p. 17. a.

clared against Marriage, and lived in perfect Chastity, if we will believe *Philostratus*. [From his House in the Country] he

\* C. 6. p. 10. a.

went to \* abide in a Temple of *Æsculapius* at *Ægæ*, whither many diseased People came for

\* P. 10. - 14. c. 9. p. 14. c.

Cure; and from \* this time he began to set up for a Censor and Reformer of others, having a high Opinion of his own || Vertue.

|| Καλον-  
γαντα.

\* C. 9. 10. p. 15. b. d.

\* He lost his Father at the Age of Twenty Years, about the time, when *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia* was accused of Treachery to the || *Romans*; that is, ||

|| See *Tiberius*. S. 10.

\* C. 10. p. 15. 16.

*Æra* of Christ] and \* some time after, when he was come to Age, he gave part of his Estate to an elder Brother, and having gained [him

[him by this Liberality,] he reclaimed him from his former debauched Life. He divided also the rest of his Estate to such of his Relations, as were poor, and reserved but a very small part to himself [Behold what a Man would do, who could have no other Design by this Appearance of Vertue, but a vain Complacency in himself, or a yet more vain Esteem from others]

\* Afterwards he passed five Years \* C. 11. p. 18. without speaking [according to the usual Practice of the *Pythagoreans*] which, he confessed, was very difficult for him to do.

\* *Philostrophus* says, that even during this Silence, he quelled many Seditions in *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, especially in *Aspendus*, the Third City of *Pamphylia*; where the || Magistrate was like to have been burnt, because some wealthy Men by concealing the Corn had occasioned a Famine.

|| ἀγχορ.



\* C. 12. p. 21.  
23.

\* Afterwards he went to *Antioch*, to *Ephesus*, and other Cities, where he took great pains to maintain and restore the Honour, and the Worship of Idols.

\* P. 22. a.

\* He practis'd from that time secret Mysteries, to which he admitted only those, who had passed four Years in Silence. He

\* C. 13. p. 23.  
c. d.

acted the \* Lawgiver, and the Master, pretending that he had practised all that he acquired of

\* P. 25. b.

others: And \* he was vain enough to say, that he searched no farther, because he had found out the Truth. He boasted, that he knew all Languages, without having learned them, and that he could enter, even into the Thoughts of Men. [that is to say, that he was either a Magician, or a Lyar, or rather that he was both.]

\* P. 24. a. b.

\* He had in the mean time, as yet but Seven Disciples, who also left him, as soon as he talked to

## Apollonius Tyaneus.

9

to them, of going to the *Indies* to find out the Philosophers [or rather the Magicians] who from this time had the Name of *Bramins* or *Brachmanes*. \* It was \* c. the Devil, as he says himself, who put him upon this Voyage.

\* He parted therefore from *An-* \* c. d. *tioch* followed only by Two Servants. But at *Ninive* *Damis*, whom I have already mentioned, joyned himself to him, and from that time \* took large Accounts \* P. 25. c. d. of his Actions, and even of his Words. \* *Philostratus* pretends, \* C. 14. p. 27. that passing thro' *Mesopotamia* to c. d. go [from *Ninive*] into *Babylonia*, he there learned to understand the Oracles, which the Birds gave out in their singing [so that he took a great deal of pains to run thro' the World to get together all the particular Follies of each Country] \* He \* C. 18. p. 37. came into *Babylonia*, and there <sup>38.</sup> had private Conferences with the

# The LIFE of

the Magicians, from whom he learned new [Secrets of Magick] as he likewise pretended to have taught them, what they did not know before.

\* P. 36.

\* *Philostratus* makes him come to *Babylon*, which he represents to us, as a City of || XXIV. Leagues || 480. Furlongs. in Compass, surrounded with a Wall, which was a || Furlong || 1212 1/2 paces. and a Half in heighth (for that is his way of measuring) and almost a Furlong broad: And he adds other things, as strange, [I leave it to others to examine, whether it be true, that *Babylon* was yet a City, and whether *Philostratus* has not described it at this time, beyond what it was in the time of *Nebucadnezzar*].

\* *Str.* l. 16. p. 738. a.

\* According to *Strabo* it was yet remaining, having || 385. Furlongs. XIX. Leagues in Circuit, and Walls of the Thickness of XXXII. Feet, \* but it was almost wholly deserted, and became daily more and more ruinous

\* d. c.



## Apollonius Tyaneus.

II

nous. \* *Pausanias* writes, of \* *Amm. n. p.*  
the time of *M. Aurelius*, that <sup>267.</sup>  
there remained nothing but the  
Walls, and the Temple of *Be-*  
*lus* ; and \* *Trajan*, who would \* *Dio. l. 68.*  
go to see a Place so famous, *p. 785. a.*  
found there almost nothing but  
Ruines. \* *Pliny* [contemporary \* *Plin. l. 6. c.*  
with *Apollonius*] reduces *Babylon* <sup>26. p. 127.</sup>  
also to the Temple of *Belus*, the  
rest being nothing but Desola-  
tion.

\* In the Fourth Age, the \* *Hier. in Is.*  
Walls were yet standing, but <sup>c. 13. p. 54.</sup>  
they served for nothing, but to  
enclose all sorts of Beasts, which  
the *Parthian* Kings kept shut up  
there, as in a Park, that they  
might sometimes have the Diver-  
sion of Hunting them. \* And \* *Pearf. Post.*  
this is the State, to which the *p. 49.*  
Prophets had foretold, it should  
one Day be brought. \* *Nicator* \* *Plin. p. 127.*  
King of *Syria*, had purposely <sup>e. f.</sup>  
built *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*, to  
dispeople *Babylon*, and draw all  
the Inhabitants of it thither.

\* *Philo-*

\* *Apol. v. l. i.*  
*c. 19. 38. 40.*  
*l. 3. c. 16. p.*  
*153. b.*

\* *Philostratus* says, that the King of *Parthia* was there, when

*Apollonius* arrived, and seems to suppose, that it was his Abode, and the Place of his usual Resi-

(a) *Str. l. 16.*  
*p. 743. c. d.*  
*Pearf. Post. p.*  
*50.*

dence, (a) tho' the *Parthian* Kings had then been accustomed to pass the Winter at *Ctesiphon*, near *Selencia*, and the Summer at

(b) *Apol. v. l.*  
*1. c. 15. 19.*  
*p. 29. b. | 39.*  
*c.*

*Ecbatane*. It was (b) *Vardanes*, who having a little before recovered the Dominion [from his Brother *Gotarzes*] reigned afterwards two Years, and two

(c) *C. 16. 24.*  
*p. 31. b | 53.*  
*c.*

Months, says *Philostratus*. (b) *Apollonius* passed XX. Months at

(d) *L. 3. c. 15.*  
*16. p. 153. b.*  
*c. | 157. b.*

his Court, and (d) he remained upon the Throne about VI. Months after, according to the same Author [altho' according to *Tacitus Vardanes*, could not have reigned more than Two Years, in 47. 48. and 49.] and

\* *L. 8. c. 3.*  
*p. 398. c.*

even \* according to another Account of *Philostratus*, *Apollonius* must not have made these Voyages, till the end of the Reign of || *Claudius* [about the

|| See *Claudius*, note 16.

Year

Year 54. when *Vologesus* was King of the *Parthians*.]

\* *Apollonius* leaves *Babylon*, and the Court of *Vardanes* towards the Summer, to go by Land to the *Indies* [where he was very well received by a King, whose Name was *Phraotes*, of whom *Philostratus* tells strange things.]

\* *Phraotes* has him conducted to *Hiarchas*, the chief of the *Brachmanes*, who then were but XVIII. in Number. [I shall report nothing of that, which *Philostratus* says passed between them; it is sufficient to say, that if the Relation of this Author have any thing of Truth in it, these *Brachmanes* were no Gods]

\* as they had the Insolence to pretend, [but were infamous Magicians: And there is no reason to doubt, considering the Esteem, which *Apollonius* afterwards expresses always for them, that in the Conferences, which he had with them, where *Damis* himself



himself was present, he had learned new ways of conversing with Devils, and bringing Hell upon Earth.] \* He leaves them

\* C. 15. p.  
153. b. c.

(a) P. 154. d.

(b) C. 16. p.  
157. b.

\* C. d.

(a) embarking return'd by Sea, to the (b) Mouth of *Euphrates* [or rather of *Tigris*,] from thence to *Babylon*, afterwards to *Ninive*, and at last to *Antioch*. \* It appears, that they had no great Value for him at *Antioch*. This was the Cause, why he came into *Jonia* [where he afterwards made his principal Residence, sometimes at *Ephesus*, and sometimes at *Smyrna*.]

\* L. 4. c. i.  
p. 158.

\* He was admired at *Ephesus*, the Devils themselves contributing to it by their Oracles, which they gave out in his Favour.

\* P. 159. b. c.

\* It is pretended, he reclaimed this City from Idleness, from the Love of Dancing, and from other Fooleries, to which it was much addicted, and that he \* endeavour'd to bring the Inhabitants

\* D. | 160.

to be friendly to one another.

\* He laboured in like manner in \* P. 161. a.

the other Cities of *Ionia*, to reform

the manners of the People and

to \* establish Unity among them] \* C. 2. p. 162.

For the Devil, whom some of <sup>163.</sup>

the Fathers have called the Ape

of God, and who would be well

contented, that Men should be

a little more regular in their

outward Behaviour, provided

they were but impious in neg-

lecting the Worship of their Cre-

ator; attempted by his *Apollo-*

*nus*, what Jesus Christ had done

by his Apostles; to ruine, if he

could, the Renown, which the

Reformation of Manners gave

to the Preaching of the Gospel.]

\* From *Ionia* *Apollonius* went \* C. 28. p.

to *Ilium*, and (a) embarked in <sup>165. 166.</sup>

Autumn to (b) go for *Lesbos*, <sup>(a) C. 4. p.</sup>

and from thence to *Athens*, (c) <sup>(b) P. 169. a.</sup>

where seeing the People much <sup>c. 6. p. 174. a.</sup>

addicted to Sacrifices, he applied <sup>(c) C. 6. p.</sup>

himself to give them Rules, to <sup>175. c. d.</sup>

forbid (d) Dancing, and abolish <sup>(d) C. 7. p.</sup>

the <sup>178. 179. d |</sup>

c. 8. p. 180.

the cruel Spectacles of the Gladiators. He made divers Voyages into Greece, labouring every where to restore the ancient Superstitions of Idolatry.

\* C. 8. p. 181.  
a. b.

\* The *Eliaus* invited him to their Games, which they were to celebrate for the [210] Olympiad [in the LXI. Year of Christ,] seven Years before *Nero* cut the

\* d.

*Corinthian Isthmus*. \* Passing to *Corinth* he there gained for his Admirers, *Demetrius* the most famous *Cynick* of that time, and

\* P. 182. a | c.  
10. p. 189. a.

his Scholar \* *Menippus*. It is said, that with one Word he brought back the *Lacedæmonians* to their Ancient manner of Life [but who will believe it?] \* He made mighty Exhortations upon every Vertue at the Olympick Games.

\* C. 10. p.  
188. c.

\* P. 189. a.  
\* C. 11. p.  
192. a.

\* He came from thence to *Lacedæmon*, and \* there continued till the end of Winter. In Spring he came to *Crete*, having formerly



merly designed from thence to go to *Rome*, and he actually came thither at his leaving *Crete*, [where it is not said, that he staid any long time. So that he must have come to *Rome* after the Year LXII.] In \* the mean<sup>\* C. 13. p. 199. d.</sup> while *Philostratus* says, that he came thither under the Consulship of *Telestinus* [which is the LXVI. Year, to which all that follows, has more Agreement than to the Year LXII.] His Historian relates at length what he did there [and that too which he did not] and \* informs us,<sup>\* C. 16. p. 208.</sup> that *Nero* having ordered, when he was in *Greece* [in the Year LXVI.] that all the Philosophers should depart from *Rome*, *Apollonius* went to *Cadis* at the farther end of *Spain*, to learn there also new Secrets [of Magick.]

\* *Philostratus* makes it a Point<sup>\* L. 5. c. 3. 12. p. 217. 245. b. c.</sup> of Merit in him, that at *Cadis* he stirred up the Governour of the Country against *Nero*: And the other Philosophers made no  
C more

more Scruple of it than he  
[there being no other but the  
Christian Religion, which teaches  
us to consider Men, not as they  
are in themselves, but in that  
Order, wherein God hath placed  
them, and never to violate the  
Obligations, which we have en-  
tered into.] \* During the Insur-

\* C. 3. p. 218.

rection [of *Vindex* and *Galba*]  
against *Nero*, *Apollonius* went in-  
to *Africa*, into *Tuscany*, [and into  
*Sicily*, where he was informed  
of the Death of *Nero* [which  
happened in *June* LXVIII.]

In the  
Year  
LXVIII.

\* C. 6. p. 224.  
d.

\* When he had made some stay  
there, he went into *Achaim* 1. in 1.

\* C. 7. p. 225.  
d.

the beginning of *October*. \* The  
Spring following he passed into

In the  
Year  
LXIX.

(a) C. 8. p.  
230. b. c.

*Egypt*, (a) where he was visited  
by a great many Men of his own  
Strain, at *Alexandria*, and in the  
upper *Egypt*.

\* C. 9. p. 233.  
234. c. d.

\* *Vespasian* also came thither  
[at the end of the Year LXIX.]  
and *Philostratus* would make us

*Lloyd*. p.  
151.

1. About the Rising of *Arcturus*, which rises  
about 50 Days after the Dog-Star.

believe,

believe, that he came thither to see *Apollonius*, who would not come to him in *Judea*. *Apollonius* waited for him in a Temple, but would not stir out to meet him. \* *Vespasian* did him great \* C. 10. p. Honour, and advised with him <sup>235.</sup> | <sup>237.</sup> in private, concerning the State of his Affairs: [for this Prince, in other things a great Man, had the Weakness to give Credit to Diviners] \* *Dion* and *Euphrates*, \* C. 11. 12. two Famous Philosophers would <sup>P. 238. 246.</sup> have perswaded him to renounce the Empire, when he had put *Vitellius* to flight, and to re-establish the Commonwealth. \* *Apollonius* argued the Case with them, \* which occasioned a great Quar- \* C. 14. p. rel. \* *Apollonius* at the same time <sup>249. 252.</sup> gave divers Rules to *Vespasian* in \* C. 13. p. <sup>247. 248.</sup> order to his good Government, and some of them were very good, \* but he would not hearken \* C. 14. p. <sup>250. 251.</sup> to them.

\* *Vespasian* leaves him at *Alex- \* P. 250. c.*  
*andria*, when he went [to *Rome*  
C 2 about



about the middle of the Year LXX. if we may rely upon some Expressions of *Philostratus*, who after his usual manner is here confused enough, not to say, he contradicts himself] \* That which is clear is, that *Apollonius* went from *Alexandria* to go see the rest of *Egypt*, and the Philosophers of *Ethiopia*, upon whom *Philostratus* bestows the Name of Gymnosophists [which others give to those of *India*.] Of the

\* P. 255. 256. \* Thirty Disciples, which he then had, Ten only followed him in this Journey, and the others chose rather to stay at *Alexandria*.

\* L. 6. c. 4. \* He was but ill received by the Gymnosophists, who had been prejudiced against him by *Enphrates* [but afterwards they became Friends, and had great Conferences together] \* which *Apollonius* broke off, to go see the Head of *Nile*. \* He was as far as the third Cataract. \* He returned into *Egypt* about the same time, that *Titus* took *Jerusalem* [the

\* C. 15. p.  
255. a.

\* L. 6. c. 4.  
p. 265. 266.

\* C. 12. p.  
299.

\* P. 301.

\* C. 14. p.  
304. d.

[the VIIIth. of September in the Year LXX.] \* Titus returned to \* P. 30. 5. d. Rome [the Year following] and Apollonius went to meet with him at Argos.

\* He afterwards made divers \* C. 15. p. Voyages into Phœnicia, into Ci- 310. a. b. l. 8. licia, into Jonia, into Greece, 403. c. 3. p. 402. into Italy, and to Rome. (a) He (a) L. 6. c. 17. was also in Hellespontus, where p. 316.

he pretended to stop Earthquakes [and perhaps he came at the same time to Byzantium] (b) (b) Codin. Orig. where, as we read, he placed c. p. 4. b.

Three \* Storks of Stone to hin- \* P. 61. 62. der those Birds from coming thither; Gnats of Copper, Fleas, Flies, and other Insects, to the same end; which Basilus the Emperor caused to be removed; and \* many other Figures, which \* P. 36. d. | shewed, they say, what was to befall that City, to the end of the World. \* The Chronicon Alexan-

drinum says, that he came with \* chron. Alex. p. 590. this intent in the Year XCIII., and that wherever he went in

the Cities, or in the Country,  
he placed such sorts of Figures  
and of Talismans. ταλίσματα.

\* *Apoll.* v. l. 7.

c. 2. - 4. p. 323.  
326.

(c) C. 4. p.  
326. b.

(d) C. 5. 10.  
p. 329. b. |  
344. 345. 1. 8.

\* He endeavoured to stir up  
all the World against *Domitian*,  
particularly *Nerva*, who succeed-  
ed him in the Empire. (c) *Do-*  
*mitian* was told of his Attempts  
of this Nature, and (d) it was  
told him besides, that he had  
also sacrificed a Child, not far  
from *Rome*, to discover by the  
Entrails, the Knowledge of  
Events, in favour of *Nerva*.

\* C. 3. p. 400.

4. 16.  
\* C. 4. 5. p.  
326. d | 330.  
d.

\* Upon this *Domitian* gives  
Order to the \* Governour of *Asia*  
to seize upon *Apollonius*, who  
was then in that Province, and  
to send him to him. But  
*Apollonius* prevented this Order,  
and \* of himself came into *Italy*,  
at the time, when *Domitian* drove  
out all the Philosophers from

\* P. 327. b. |  
328. c. d.  
329. a.

(e) L. 8. c. 3.  
p. 398.

\* C. f. l. 7. c.  
4. p. 327. b.

thence [that is to say, in XCIV.  
or XCV.] tho' *Philostratus* (e) \* sets See *Domitian*, n. 9.  
it a little sooner. He finds *Deme-*  
*trius*



trins the Cynick at *Puteoli*, who  
advised him to be gone immediate-  
ly, if he would save his Life.  
But he \* answered, that he could \* C. 6. p.  
not depart, unless he would be- 334. c. d.  
tray *Nerva*, whom *Domitian* had  
then banished, and that he was  
well assured, that as for his own  
part, the Tyrant could not put  
him to Death. \* He therefore \* C. 8. p.  
embarked again for *Rome*, in the 340. c. d.  
Habit of a Philosopher, which  
yet he caused *Damis* to lay aside,  
who was the only Companion of  
his Voyage, that he might not  
be taken up with him.

\* As soon as *Apollonius* arrived \* P. 341. a.  
at *Rome* [*Casperi*] *Ælianus* the  
Captain of the Guards, who was  
his Friend, \* was nevertheless \* C. 9. p.  
obliged to have him seized. He 342. a. c. 9.  
spoke to him in private, under a 10. p. 342.  
pretence of examining him, to  
give him Instructions in order to  
his Defence ; and afterwards  
\* having spoken of him to the \* P. 345. 346.  
Emperor \* he sent him [by his \* C. 11. p.  
C 4 Order] 347. a] c. 12.  
p. 351. c.

Order] to a Prison, where he was free [and without Chains] with Fifty other Prisoners, (a) one of whom told him, that when he had but little, he lived contentedly, under no Fear, but when he became very rich, and had a great Estate fall'n to him, he became at the same time miserable, being obliged for his own Preservation to flatter, to enrich first one, then another, reduced to fear his own Servants, and at last used as a Criminal. \* *Apollonius* comforted him, and the rest, as well as he could, being cautious of saying any thing against *Domitian*, who had his Spies there.

\* C. 12. p.  
350. 354.

\* C. 12. - 14.  
p. 354. 359.

(b) C. 14. p.  
360. 361.

\* C. 3. p.  
325. d.

\* Six Days after, he was sent for to *Domitian*, who presently (b) examined him in Relation to *Nerva*: And *Apollonius* denied stiffly, that *Nerva* had ever so much as dreamt of a Conspiracy, or of being Emperor, \* tho' his Historian says the contrary.  
\* Upon

\* Upon this *Domitian* in a Rage, <sup>\* C. 14. p. 362. a.</sup>  
 ordered his long Beard to be cut  
 off, and his Hair of his Head,  
 and sent him back to Prison loa-  
 den with Chains. \* He conti- <sup>\* C. 15. p. 363. b.</sup>  
 nued two Days in this Condi-  
 tion, (a) out of which *Domitian* (a) <sup>C. 17. p. 368. d.</sup>  
 himself delivered him, at the  
 Petition of *Ælianus*, and per-  
 mitted him, as before, to be a  
 Prisoner at large. \* Whilst he <sup>\* C. 15. p. 366. 367.</sup>  
 was in Chains he assured *Damis*,  
 who followed him into the Pri-  
 son, that *Domitian* could do him  
 no hurt, and to shew him what  
 he could do, he freed his Leg  
 from the Chain, which was fast-  
 ned about it, and then put his  
 Leg into the Chain again.

\* At the end of five Days, he <sup>\* C. 17. 368. d. | 369. b.</sup>  
 was sent for to appear before *Do-*  
*mitian*, (b) in the Presence of (b) <sup>L. 8. c. 2. p. 375. d.</sup>  
 his whole Court: And (c) after he <sup>(c) P. 376. 377.</sup>  
 had asked some Questions, with-  
 out pressing any thing hard upon  
 him, (d) *Domitian* declared him <sup>(d) P. 377. c.</sup>  
 innocent of all, that had been  
 laid



laid to his Charge, and notwithstanding, ordered him to continue there, till he had discoursed with him in private.

*Philostratus* gives us no Intimation from whence this extraordinary Kindness should come:

\* d. He only \* adds, that *Apollonius* when he had thanked *Domitian* in one Word, prayed him to consider, how much Mischief the Informers brought upon the Empire, and to give him an Opportunity [to discourse with him upon this Subject,] and then

\* P. 378. a. added, " If \* not, send one to  
 " apprehend me : For as to my  
 " Soul, no Person in the World  
 " shall be Master of it. I might  
 " also say, that you shall be as  
 " little Master of my Body, and  
 " that you shall not take my  
 " Life from me, because this is  
 " not my Fate. After these

\* C. 4. p. 410. Words, says *Philostratus*, he was  
 b. seen no more in the As-  
 (e) L. 7. c. 17. sembly, and \* he was the same  
 P. 369. c. 18. Evening at *Puteoli*, (e) which  
 C. 4. p. 409. 410. was

was three Days Journey from thence. *Domitian* said nothing upon this occasion: But it was observed, that being to enquire into another Affair he appeared much disturbed in his Mind [I was resolved to relate this Event, which is the most remarkable in the whole Life of *Apollonius*, in the very Expressions of his Historian, who took little Care to make it appear credible, or had but ill Luck in it.]

*Apollonius* went afterwards \* C. 6. p. 415. into *Sicily* at the beginning of Autumn, and from thence to *Olympia* in *Peloponesus*, \* whither \* P. 416. *Philostratus* says, they came from all parts of *Greece* to see him [*Domitian* in the mean time, not concerning himself to have him apprehended] He spent [almost] Two Years \* in divers Parts of \* C. 9. p. 423. *Greece*, being always followed <sup>c. 8. p. 421.</sup> <sub>d.</sub> by vast numbers of young People, (a) whom he lead into <sup>(a) P. 422.</sup> Places remote from Noise, and <sup>b. c.</sup> distant

distant from the Lawyers; for he looked upon them as the cause of the Evils, which were then so much suffered, by the false Accusations, which their Eloquence fastned upon the most innocent Persons. From Greece

\* C. 9. p. 423. c. \* he passed into *Jonia* [at the beginning of the Year *XCVI*]

where he went thro' divers Cities, being usually at *Smyrna*, and *Ephesus*. \* It was in the last, that it is pretended, he saw the Death of *Domitian* the moment, when he was killed \*.

\* C. 10. p. 425. 426.

\* C. 11. p. 426. 427.

\* *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, wrote to *Apollonius* immediately, to entreat him to come to him, and assist him with his Advice. But he declared by the Answer, he returned, that they were never to be together till Death.

\* Sept. XVIII. An. *XCVI*. See *Domitian*, S. 21.

\* P. 427. a. b.

\* Some time after, he wrote to him a Letter, in which he gave him many Directions relating



ting to Government, and he sent it by *Damis*, who moreover might give him Instructions by word of Mouth. The \* Event made *Damis* believe, that he had sent him into *Italy*, that he might not be present at his Death [which is supposed to have happened at the end of the Year XCVI. or at the beginning of I. XCVII.] \* *Damis* had left no Intimations of the manner of his Death, in his Memoirs, and nothing certain was known of it in the time of *Philostratus*.

\* c.

I.  
\* C. 12. p.  
428. a.

\* Some said that he died at *Ephesus* in the Arms of his two Maid-servants [who in the mean while give us no Tidings of what became of the vast Number of Disciples, which he had had.]

\* c. d.

\* Others related, that coming into a Temple, either at *Lindus* [in the Isle of *Rhodes*] or at *Diclynna* in that of *Crete*, he

\* P. 429.

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I. And not in the 6th Year of *Adrian*, according to the *Alexandr. Chron.* p. 598.

disappeared,

\* C. 13. p.  
431. d.

\* Bar. 99. S.  
12.

\* Luci. v. A-  
lex. p. 476. c.

\* Apoll. v. 1.4.  
c. 16. p. 206.

\* Euseb. in  
Hier. p. 461.

disappeared, and to this they  
added divers Prodigies. \* *Phi-  
lostratus* assures us, that tho' he  
had seen many Countries, he  
never could find out his Tomb  
any where, and *Apollonius* had  
often said, that he would die  
without any ones knowing it,  
to the end, that he, as *Empedo-  
cles*, might be thought immor-  
tal [So that] \* we have great  
Reason to believe, that his Death  
was Tragical, according to what  
*Lucian* says, \* who styles the  
whole History of *Apollonius* a  
Tragedy.

[ This Abridgment, which I  
have made, of his Life is amplified  
by *Philostatus* with Abundance of  
Prophecies and Miracles, which  
he ascribes to him. \* He has ob-  
served among other Miracles, the  
Resurrection of a young Woman  
of a Consular Family, and just  
then upon her Marriage; but he  
durst not be confident, that she  
was quite dead. And indeed \* if  
this

this Miracle were true, it must have been much more famous than it was, as *Ensebius* has observed [All these Prodigies depend upon the Authority of *Phisstratus*] who, \* *Ensebius* as- \* P. 436. c.  
sures us, had more Learning than either Exactness or Love for Truth. \* One may certainly \* *Tac. hi. l. 3. n. 85. p. 80.*  
perceive by many Instances, that he had not sufficient Knowledge of the *Roman* History, wherein he makes abundance of Mistakes, as *Lipsius* has remarked [and that he contradicts himself in many places. Nothing is less probable than what, he says, passed between *Apollonius* and *Domitian*] and \* *Ensebius* maintains, that \* *Enseb. in Hier. p. 467. d.*  
it were easy to shew, that a great part of his Narratives are || inconsistent one with another, or are easily confuted, and that they are no better than Fable and Romance. So that he does not doubt to affirm, that his whole Work is full of Fictions and Falshoods. \* *Photius*, who has \* *Phot. c. 44. p. 29.*  
briefly

|| inconsistent.



briefly related part of the Matters of Fact contained in this History, rejects many of them, as impertinent Fables, and \* terms the whole Work an unprofitable Labour. [It is therefore with Reason, that]

\* P. 32.

\* Aug. L. Ep. 49. p. 781. d.

\* St. *Austin* maintains, that all, which is said of the Miracles of *Apollonius*, has no || Author of Credit to vouch for

\* *Chrys.* in *Jud.* h. 3. t. 1. p. 418.

\* *Suid.* a. p. 376. e.

them. \* St. *Chrysostom* also asserts, that they are mere Lyes and Delusions. \* *Suidas* speaks

|| *Nulla fide-  
li auctore.*

\* *Euseb.* in *Chr.* n. p. 191. 1.

to the same Purpose [To which if we would add the Opinions of the most Learned of latter Times] \* *Scaliger* says, that all the vain Prodigies, which *Philostratus* reports of his Impostor, have not so much as the Appearance of Truth. \* *Vives*, and

\* *Voss.* h. gr. l. 2. c. 15. p. 235. *Spart.* n. c. p. 229. 2. f.

*Vossius*, who follows him, treat him with no greater Respect, no more does *Casaubon*.

[However, tho' we should grant the Truth of the Facts, which he reports, yet one could not

not read them without taking notice, that they are the Works of the Devil and of Magick, and not of Divine Power, as *Philostratus* attempts in several Places to perswade us. This is the Opinion, which the Pagans had of *Apollonius*, both in the time of his Life, and after his Death: For even those, who were not his Enemies, \* refused <sup>\*Apoll. v. l. 4. c. 6. p. 176. a | b. l. 8. c. 8. 12. p. 420. c. |</sup> oftentimes to admit him to their Mysteries, looking upon him as a Magician and a Demoniack:

(a) This is the Judgment which (a) <sup>L. i. c. 3. p. 3. a.</sup> many even in the time of *Philostratus* himself passed upon him.

\* *Lucian* speaking of one of his most intimate Disciples, attributes this to him as his chief Quality, that he was a noted Magician, and made Profession of it. <sup>\* Luci. in Alex. p. 476.</sup>

\* The Abridgment of <sup>\* Dio. l. 77. p. 878. c.</sup> *Dion* by *Xiphilin* says, that *Caracalla* loved him, because he was a Cheat, and a compleat Magician. [Besides this Quality, he had such a Vanity, as could suit

D

with

\* Apoll. v. l.  
r. c. 19. p.  
38. c.

with none but a Devil] \* Before his Journey into the *Indies*, when the Image of the King of *Parthia* was shewn him, that he might pay him the usual Honours, he used these Words:

“ He whom you adore, will be  
“ very happy, if he deserve my  
“ Esteem, and my Praise: He

\* C. 14. p.  
26. c.

\* imagined himself endued with all kinds of Vertue, and would have others believe it. He

\* C. 15. p.  
28. c.

\* looked upon himself as the Master, the Teacher, and the Cenfor of the whole World [and this is the Character, which one may say, was predominant in his whole Life] \* He boasted

\* L. 7. c. 6.  
p. 334. b. c.

that he understood all things, and (c) knew even things to come. (d) He was not ill pleased to be revered as a God,

(c) L. 1. c.  
20. p. 43. d.

(d) L. 8. c.  
2. p. 376. c.

(e) L. 7. c. 10.  
p. 346. b. c. |

1. c. 13. p.  
25. c.

(f) L. 4. c.  
10. p. 189. a.

and (e) suffered Divine Worship to be paid him. And if upon (f) one occasion he would not suffer Divine Honours to be given him; it was, says his Historian, because it might prove invidious. Al-



# Apollonius Tyaneus.

35

Altho' he \* boasted of him- \* L. 1. c. 10.  
 self, as excelling in every Ver- P. 17. &c.  
 tue, and *Philostratus* every where  
 extols the Purity of his Life,  
 and his Disengagement from the  
 World, he has \* nevertheless \* L. 7. c. 14.  
 been accused of loving Money P. 361. c.  
 too well [and he who would  
 receive no Gifts from Kings and  
 Emperors] \* one Day finding his \* L. 8. c. 6.  
 Stock but low, asked at one clap P. 417. c.  
 of an Idolatrous Priest near ||  
 Five Hundred Livres. \* St. Au- \* Aug. Ep. B.  
*gustin* seems to allow the Hea- 138. S. 18. p.  
 thens, that he was better, at 418. a.  
 least, than their *Jupiter*: \* Not- \* Apol. v. l. i.  
 withstanding, common Fame has c. 10. p. 17 b.  
 accused him also of being by no  
 means chaste, and (a) some par- (a) *Phlft.*  
 ticular Stories are told of him. *Soph.* 31. p.  
 \* *Lucian* informs us, at least, 568. c.  
 that his Disciples, who were his \* *Luci.* v. A.  
 greatest Confidants, were his *lex.* p. 476.  
 of abominable Lives.

[His Belief of a Metempsychosis, which *Philostratus* in several places, ascribes to him, is fit

|| A Thou-  
 sand  
 Drachme.  
 In our  
 Money  
 31 l. 5 s.

\* *Apol. v. l. 5.*  
*c. 15. p. 254.*  
*255.*

\* *L. 4. c. z.*  
*p. 161. b. c.*

only for a Mind capable of the idlest Fancies, as well as the Folly, which he was guilty of in \* adoring the Lion, in whom he pretended the Soul was of *Amasis* formerly King of *Egypt* [There appears also a strange Baseness of Mind] in the \* severe Reprimand, which he gave to the Men of *Smyrna*, because in a Deed signed by divers Persons, there were the Names of one *Lucallus* and others, that are not Greek [In the most important Occasions, he amused himself in talking of the Course of *Nile*, and of other things, that deserve not to take up the Thoughts of a Philosopher.

*Philostratus* excuses, as well as he can, his Disputes with the Philosopher *Euphrates*, upon whom he would cast all the Blame. [But either the same Author in another Work, or another *Philostratus*] \* who had  
 \* *Phil. Soph.*  
*31. p. 568. d.* seen the Life of *Apollonius*, and who

who refers to it, (a) confesses, <sup>(a) C. 7. p. 492. a. b.</sup> that neither the one, nor the other of them behaved himself in that Debate like a Philosopher.

Besides, (b) whatever *Apollonius* <sup>(b) Euseb. in Hier. p. 464. 465.</sup> and *Philostratus* say to decry *Euphrates*, (c) he did not fail ne-

vertheless to be in general Esteem <sup>(c) P. 465. b. c.</sup>

Two Hundred Years after his Death, as the most famous and most excellent Philosopher of his Age. \* *Apollonius* himself \* <sup>P. 463. 464.</sup>

speaks of him to *Vespasian* in these Terms, without foreseeing, as much a Prophet, as they would have us believe, he was, that he should soon after exclaim against him, as a covetous Man, a Slanderer, and one of the most wicked Men in the World. [The younger *Pliny*, who had no Kindness for such Men] \* extols \* <sup>\* *Plin.* l. i. Ep. 10. p. 23. 30.</sup>

*Euphrates* very highly, and he knew him throughly. (d) *Epi-* <sup>(d) *Arri. Epic.* l. 3. c. 15. p. 320.</sup> *ctetus* in *Arrian* doth not only extreamly esteem his Eloquence,

but (e) commends him moreo- <sup>(e) *L.* 4. c. 8. p. 489. 490.</sup> very much, because he had of a

8c.

D 3 long



time undertaken to lead the Life of a Philosopher, before he took the Habit. (f) He died, as a Stoick, at the || beginning of the || About the Year 118. Reign of *Adrian*, by whose Permission he took Hemlock, to put an end to the Troubles of his Disease and of his Old Age.

(f) *Dio. l. 69. p. 791. d.* \* He wrote some Books against *Apollonius*, which *Philostatus* promised to confute. (g) *Eunapius* seems to assign to him some others of more Importance, and which gave him a great Reputation. He informs us, that he was an *Egyptian*.

(g) *Eun. Pref. p. 11. 12.*

[The Esteem, which the Devils had procured *Apollonius*, did not end soon after his Death; God permitted, that to come to pass, which they had told him] by the \* *Brachmanes*, if we may believe *Philostatus*, That in the Opinion of many he should both living and dead pass for a God.

\* *Apol. v. l. 3. c. 15. p. 153. c. d.* \* The little Account, which was given of his Death, made his Fellow

\* *L. 8. c. 13. p. 430. b.*

Fellow Citizens of *Tyana* believe,  
that he was become immortal,  
and they \* erected a Temple to <sup>\* L. i. c. 4.</sup>  
him near their City. (b) His <sup>p. 6. b.</sup>

Image was also in other places <sup>(b) Aurel. v. p. 217. c.</sup>

set up in many Temples, and  
(i) the Emperours [instead of (i) *Apol. v. l.*  
putting a stop to this new Su- <sup>8. c. 13. p.</sup>  
perstition] encouraged it by the <sup>431. d.</sup>

Honours they did themselves pay  
to this Impostor. (k) *Adrian* (k) *C. 8. p.*  
got together in his Palace at <sup>421. c.</sup>

*Antium* all his Letters, that were  
to be found. (l) *Antoninus* (l) *Dio l. 77.*  
*Caracalla* loved him, honoured <sup>p. 878.</sup>

him, and even built a Temple to  
him, || as to a Hero.

|| Honor.

The (m) Emperor *Alexander* (m) *Lamp.*

|| In *Lara-* had his Image in a || private <sup>p. 123. c.</sup>  
*ria.*

place of his Palace among those  
of Jesus Christ, of *Abraham*, and  
the best Princes [and this Medly  
pleased the Devil] \* *Vopiscus* \* *Vopisc. Aur.*

says, that he had read in Me- <sup>v. p. 217. b.</sup>  
moirs, and had heard it from <sup>c. d. | n. c. p.</sup>

grave Persons, that *Aurelian* be- <sup>229. c. f.</sup>  
ing resolved to plunder the City  
of *Tyana*, saw *Apollonius* stand

D 4

before

before him, who forbade him to do it: Whom he obeyed and promised *Apollonius*, an Image, a Temple, and Statues. *Vopiscus* does not say whether he fulfilled his Vow, and he doth not so much as vouch this Apparition for certain, tho' he relates it purposely to do *Apollonius* Honour; for whom he expresses as great Esteem, as a Heathen could have, who upon the Ruine of his false Religion, could find nothing, but the Impostures of this Magician to oppose to the true Miracles of Jesus Christ. He likewise had a Design to write his Life in *Latin*, as [*Philostrophus*] had done in Greek, to the end, says he, that his admirable Actions may be known by all the World. \* *Eusebius* testifies, that in his time, there were some, who pretended to Enchantments, in which they used the Name of *Apollonius*. [However, this pretended Divinity supported both by Earth and

\* *Euseb. in Hier. p. 476. 477.*



and Hell was of so little Continuance] \* that from the be- \* *Last. l. 5. c. 3. p. 465.*  
 ginning of the fourth Age, what-  
 ever he was, they did not honour him as a God: \* Tho' it \* *P. 468.*  
 is pretended, that the *Ephesians* still worshipped his Statue, but under the Name of *Hercules*, and not under his own, because it was certain, that he was but a Man, and no better than an Impostor. \* *En-* \* *Euf. in Hier. p. 468. a.*  
*sebins* also assures us, that [scarce] any Person acknowledged *Apollonius* any longer, not as a God, or as an extraordinary and admirable Man, but even barely  
 &c. as a Philosopher. \* Whilst Je- \* *P. 435-436.*  
 sus Christ made his Glory manifest, throughout all the Earth, in despite of the Attempts, which all the World had made for three Hundred Years to oppose him. [*Eunapius*, who wrote at the beginning of the fifth Age, would gladly have restored]  
 \* the Reputation, then extinct \* *Chrys. in Jud. Or. 3. t. 1. p. 418.*  
 and vanished of his Hero: (a)  
 For he says of him, that he was (a) *Eun. Pref. p. 11.*  
 not

not so much a Philosopher, as something between a God and a Man, and that *Philostratus* ought to have entitl'd his History, which he wrote concerning him, *The Descent of a God upon Earth* [But the time of the Reign of Devils was past, and the true Mediator must now alone be acknowledged as God by Men.]

[*Philostratus* has preserv'd us some Letters of *Apollonius*, which

\* *Apol.* v. l. 8.  
c. 3. p. 379.  
c. 2. p. 378. c.

are very short] \* with a pretty long Apology, that he had fram'd to speak before *Domitian*,

\* *Eus.* in *Hier.* \*  
p. 471. d.

his pretended Spirit of Prophecy giving him no Information, that *Domitian* would allow him no time to make use of it, and that the pains, which he took in composing it would be

\* *Apol.* v. l. 1.  
e. 2. p. 4. c |  
*Suid.* a. p.  
376. c.

in vain. [Besides his Apology] and a \* great Number of Letters addressed to all sorts of Persons,

(b) *Apol.* v. l.  
3. c. 13. p.  
147. d.

(b) he had written four Books || concerning Judicial Astrology, ||

(c) d. | l. 4.  
c. 6. p. 175. d.

and one of Sacrifices, to direct what

|| μετ' ἑαυτῶν  
τείας ἀρίστην.

what ought to be offered to each God [that is, to each Devil] to please him. The first of these Works was little taken notice of, but the second became exceeding famous. \* *Eusebius* cites a Passage of it, (d) *Suidas* also takes notice of it, and moreover mentions his Will, his Treatise of Oracles, \* his Life of *Pythagoras* and an \* Hymn on Memory. His Theology, whereof \* *Eusebius* cites a Passage [is probably the same with his Work concerning Sacrifices.]

\* *Euseb. Præp.* l. 4.

c. 13. p. 150.

(d) *Suid.* a.

p. 376. c.

\* *Jonf.* l. 3. c.

5. p. 230.

\* *Apol.* v. l. 1.

c. 11. p. 18.

a. b.

\* *Euseb. Dem.* l.

3. c. 3. p. 105.

**OBSER-**



OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

LIFE

OF

APOLLONIUS TYANUS.

THE first mention, which we find of Apollonius Ty-  
anus is in (a) Lucian, who  
takes notice of him upon the  
most Occasion, and in the  
Company. The next time we meet  
with him is in Philostratus, who  
lived

OBSERVATIONS  
UPON THE  
LIFE  
OF  
APOLLONIUS TYANEUS.

THE first mention, which we find of *Apollonius Tyaneus* is in (a) *Lucian*, who (a) *Lucian* takes notice of him upon an infamous Occasion, and in the worst Company. The next time we meet with him is in *Philostratus*, who lived

(a) Lucian. Pluedo. Mant.

(b) Vit. Apoll.  
lib. 1. c. 3.

lived above an Hundred Years after him, and at that distance of Time, undertook to write his Life from some (b) Memoirs of *Damis*, who had been a Companion of *Apollonius*; and from an Account of *Maximus Aegiensis*, relating only to Two or Three of the younger Years of his Life; besides some Remains of *Apollonius* himself.

(c) Orig. contr.  
Cels. lib. 6.

He rejects what *Moeragenes* had written of *Apollonius*, as of no Authority, without assigning his Reasons for it: But we may be satisfied from (c) *Origen*, that *Moeragenes* had represented *Apollonius*, as a Magician, the Odium whereof *Philostratus* endeavoured by all means to remove. The Memoirs of *Damis*, upon which *Philostratus* grounds all the Material Parts of his History, he declares were never before heard of, but were then newly brought to the Empress *Julia Domna*, who appointed *Philostratus* to put them into a better Style. And she is with great Reason supposed



posed by a very (d) Learned and Excellent Author, to put him upon this Work to oppose the Christian Religion, and at the same time by the Example of the Magi, to countenance her own Wickedness with her Son *Caracalla*. Tho' I am not ignorant, that what *Spartian*, *Aurelius Victor*, and *Entropius* say of her Incest with *Caracalla*, is by other Learned Men (f) looked upon as a Mistake, because *Herodian* and *Dion Cassius* mention nothing of it.

(d) Bp. Worcester's Lett. to Dr. Bentley.

(f) Mr. Wotton's Hist. of Rome, &c. p. 375.

However, as *Eusebius* (e) observes, no Author before *Hierocles*, had in any Writing against the Christians, ever pretended to make the blasphemous Comparison between our Saviour Christ and *Apollonius*. So that from the time of *Domitian*, where *Philostratus* concludes his Story, to the Reign of *Diocletian*, under whom *Hierocles* wrote, none of the Enemies of the Gospel durst offer at so vain as well as wicked an Attempt.

(e) Euseb. in Hier.

And

And *Eusebius* did so fully confute *Hierocles*, by exposing the Fables and Absurdities of *Philostratus* in the Life of *Apollonius*, that from that time to our own Age, his History, it seems, has scarce had Credit enough with any of the worst Enemies of our Religion to be produced by them.

But since this foolish Legend is now again insisted upon, it may be fitting briefly to shew, how much this exposes the Cause, which it is brought to maintain, and the Men who make use of it. For it is, I think, impossible for any Man, that is not given up to believe a Lye, to mistake the Life of *Apollonius* written by *Philostratus* for true History. I shall first shew the manifest Falshoods in this Account of his Life, and will then prove, that tho' this Account were granted to be true, yet it would not serve the Design for which the Enemies of Christianity produce it.

I. I shall discover the manifest Falshoods in *Philostratus's* Life of *Apollonius*. (f) His Life is begun (f) Lib. I. c. very suitably to the following 3. 4. Course of it, by telling us, that when his Mother was with Child of him, *Proteus* appeared to her, to acquaint her that he, the said *Proteus*, was to be born of her, and there was a Melody of Swans heard at his Birth.

(g) *Damis*, upon his first Ac- (g) Lib. I. c. quaintance with *Apollonius*, offered 13. II. c. II. him his Service, as an Interpreter to III. c. 3. VI. him in his Travels: But *Apollonius* c. 5. 9. 10. told *Damis*, he needed none; for he understood not only all the Languages, but even the Thoughts of Men, and yet afterwards we find him making use of an Interpreter. Indeed he had less occasion for an Interpreter than one would imagine in those remote Countries: For the *Indian* Princes spoke Greek, and the Inhabitants of whole Towns spoke the same Tongue. He found the *Indians* very skilful in all the Grecian  
E Customs;



Customs, and History, and Philosophy. And it was the same thing, when he came into *Æthiopia*; the *Gymnosophists* were as expert in all the *Grecian* Learning, as *Apollonius* himself could be, and discoursed as well of it, as *Philostratus* could make them.

*Philostratus* brings *Apollonius* to Rome in the Consulship of *Telesinus*, and then makes him foretel what was to befall *Nero* by a Flash of Lightning; but this must have happened Six Years before that Time, as (x) *Baronius* has observed from *Tacitus*.

(x) *Baron.*  
*Annal.*  
LXVIII. c. 30.

(b) *Lib. V. c.*  
10. 11. 12. 13.  
14. VI. 14. 15.  
VII. c. 3.

The (b) long Discourses, which *Apollonius* is represented to have had with *Vespasian*, who came into *Egypt* to be advised by him; the Counsel *Apollonius* gave him; his Confutation of the Opinion of *Dion* and *Euphrates*, and his Reasons whereby he perswaded *Vespasian* to take upon him the Empire; the strange Esteem and Kindness, that Emperor had for him, insomuch that he desired his Company

Company to *Rome*, and when *Apollonius* alledged, that he was resolved to visit the *Gymnosophists* of *Æthiopia*, then *Vespasian* offered him Ten Gifts at present, saying, that all should be his, if he would but come to *Rome*; the Intimacy, which is pretended by his Letters to *Vespasian* and *Titus*, and by that of *Vespasian* to him, his Discourse with *Titus*, his appointing *Demetrius* the Cynick to attend *Titus* as his constant Counsellour, when we have Reason to believe that (i) *Vespasian* (i) Suet. had no Favour or Esteem for this *Philosopher*; his Familiarity with *Nerva*, his Tryal before *Domitian*, with the manner, and strange Circumstances of it; all these things must be looked upon as no better than mere Fiction, since there is no ground to believe them from the *Roman* Authors, and most of them are so memorable, and of such publick Concernment, that they could not be omitted by them, if they had been true; they take up a great part of the History of *Apollonius's* Life,

# Observations on the Life

Life, his Discourses with *Vespasian* were in the Temple as *Philostratus* makes him say, and of so great Importance, that *Vespasian*, as he would make us believe, owed his Possession of the Empire to *Apollonius*. And could nothing of all this find any place in the *Roman* Historians, which appears in such large and shining Characters in the Life of *Apollonius* by *Philostratus*? How should all these things be concealed from *Suetonius*? How should they escape the Sagacity of *Tacitus*? How should *Dion Cassius* be ignorant of them?

*Suetonius* was an inquisitive, impartial Historian; *Tacitus* made it his Business to search into the secret Politicks and Mysteries of State, *Dion* gives an ample Account of the Debate between *Agrippa* and *Mæcenæ*s, whether *Augustus* should accept of the Empire, or decline it: And he mentions *Apollonius* several times, and would not have omitted on this occasion to speak of



of him, if he had believed the Stories of *Philostratus*: Yet neither *Suetonius*, nor *Tacitus*, nor *Dion*, mention the Conferences held by *Apollonius*, whether *Vespasian* should refuse the Empire, nor the frequent Correspondencies and long Discourses, which, as *Philostratus* acquaints us, *Apollonius* had, and commonly upon the most important Affairs, with *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Domitian*, and *Nerva*: But (\*) *Dion* upon another occasion, calls him an Impostor and a Magician.

(\*) Dio in Anton. C. 6. racal.

(k) *Philostratus* sets down a long Speech, which he informs us, *Apollonius* had prepared, and designed to use at his Tryal, but had no Opportunity for it. This, as *Eusebius* observed, very ill agrees with the Pretensions of *Apollonius*, who before is represented professing to know not only the Events of things, but even the Thoughts of Men. But it is manifest, that *Philostratus* has bestowed that Oration on *Apollonius*; his Style, his Turn of

(k) Lib. I. c. 13. VII. 6. VIII. 3. 4. 5.

of Words and Thoughts, and his Ostentation of Learning and Eloquence are visible in every part, tho' he endeavours to conceal the Cheat, and makes him excuse himself, and say, that he did not speak like himself, *ῥήτογενώτερον ἰσως ἀπολελόγημα, τῷ μὲν τρέπῃ*. He is said to disappear on the suddain, at his Tryal before the Emperor, to his great Consternation, and to convey himself to *Pateoli*, where he was seen soon after by *Demetrius* and *Damis*. And being at *Ephesus*, he openly told the very instant, when *Domitian* was assassinated at *Rome*. But is it credible, that things of this Publick Nature, if they had been true, would have been told us only by *Philostratus*, and those, who have transcribed him? That the *Roman* Historians before his time, should make no mention of them? That *Suetonius* should omit all this, who is so particular in relating Omens and Prodigies, and in the Life of *Domitian* takes notice of the strange Prediction of *Ascleparion*?

How

How could it come to pass, that he should say nothing of *Apollonius*? Is it not still most of all Incredible, that the Adversaries of the Christian Religion before *Philostratus* should pretend no Advantage from any of these things against it.

*Dion Cassius*, who lived under *Severus Alexander*, after the writing of *Apollonius's* Life by *Philostratus*, mentions that of *Apollonius* as well as other Prodigies attending *Domitian's* Death, yet he differs in the Relation from *Philostratus*, being uncertain whether *Apollonius* was then at *Ephesus*, or somewhere else; but is very positive that being in some place at a great distance he perceived *Domitian* killed at *Rome*; this, he says, was so, tho' it should be never so often denied: Which is a sign that this was but little credited in *Dion's* time. *Philostratus* doth not agree in his Account of *Domitian's* Death with the *Roman* Historians. And

(x) *Lipsius* observing a gross Mistake of his, about the Death of *Agrippina*, (x) *Lips. ad Tac. An. lib.*



makes this Remark. So great a Trifler is he both in the whole, and in the several Parts of his Work.

I will not insist upon the Two Vessels, one full of Wine, the other of Rain, the Tables and Cups, that with the Dishes placed themselves in very exact Order for the Entertainment of *Apollonius* among the *Indians*, his Understanding the Language of Birds; his Conversation with the Ghost of *Achilles*, the Speaking Elm, the Lion, which desired *Apollonius* to declare his Pedigree, for that this same Lion was *Amasis* once King of *Egypt*, and wept, when *Apollonius* told it to the Company: These things, and whatever else there is of the like Nature, I leave with the Adversaries of our Religion, to make the most of: Such things must be either downright Lies, or the Effect of Magick, and can neither way be of any Service to their Purpose.

The

The Solution of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea by subterraneous Winds forcing the Waters from Shore to Shore, the Pigmies, Griffins, and Sciapodes are strange things, and I will not meddle with them; the Friends of *Apollonius* may believe them, if they think fit; only I wish *Philostratus* had been more positive, whether there be such a People, as the Sciapodes, or no: For (1) in one part of this Life I find it denied, <sup>(1) Lib. III. 14. VI. 12.</sup> and affirmed in another. And methinks when *Apollonius* professes to know not only the Languages, but the Thoughts of Men, and could converse with Birds and Beasts and Trees and Ghosts, he had little need of travelling for his Improvement in Knowledge, as far as *India* and *Æthiopia*: There is nothing of all these fine Discoveries in Natural History, but what he might with much less Trouble have had from his own Invention, or from the Greek Authors; from whence indeed *Philostratus* had them, and then he

he sent *Apollonius* about the World to make Discoveries, to give him an Opportunity of writing them.

The Life of *Apollonius* was only an Exercise of *Philostratus's* Wit and Invention; he lay before under a very ill Character, as it appears from *Lucian*, and from *Philostratus* himself, who is so often endeavouring to remove from him the Suspicion of Magick.

But *Philostratus* resolved, he should be a compleat Philosopher, beyond any, that the World had ever known before; that he should know all things, be able to do all things, should travel into the remotest Regions; and whatever *Philostratus* could read or think of, he lavish'd it all upon his wonderful *Apollonius*. And this he performed after the manner of the Sophists, so profusely and negligently, that *Hierocles* seems to have been the first Author, that ever mistook the Life of *Apollonius* from true History; and it is great



great wonder, he should not be the last, when *Eusebius* had so fully exposed his Folly in it. And as the Person of eminent Learning before-mentioned observes, no Man but one perfectly blinded with Prejudice and Malice, or with Ambition and Covetousness could have written in so extravagant a manner and with so vain an Endeavour, as *Hierocles* did, when says he, *I cannot think any Learned Man in his Age, being asked of all the Writers, whose Works were then extant, which was the greatest Lyar? Would name any other than Philostratus. I am sure, he could not, if he would speak impartially.*

II. Tho' the Account, which *Philostratus* has given of *Apollonius Tyaneus* were granted to be as true, as it is certainly false: Yet it would not serve the Design for which the Enemies of Christianity produce it. There is nothing, which is necessarily required and expected in a Person, who comes with a Divine Power

Power and Authority to establish Religion, but it was evidently wanting in *Apollonius*, as *Philostratus* has described him. His Miracles, his Prophecies, and his Doctrines were very far from being such as they ought to have been, if the Pretences of our Adversaries had any Foundation of Truth to support them.

1. I shall begin with his Doctrine, and shall shew, that this is false both in Religion and in Morality. (m) His great Endeavour and Business was to regulate and establish the Worship of the Heathen Gods, wherever he came; he wrote Books concerning Sacrifices, to shew what were the proper Sacrifices to be offered to the several Gods; he approved of the Worship of *Diana* by the *Lacedaemonians* with Human Blood; he constantly worshipped the Sun, and composed Books of Divination by the Stars; and wore certain Astrological Rings, which he had received from *Iarchus* of

(m) Lib. II.  
15. III. 13.  
VL 5. 10.

of a Magical Vertue, if they had any such as he supposed them to have. (n) *Damis* is very sollicitous (n) Lib. I. c. 1. 2. to clear his Master from the Impu- tation of Magick for his Conversa- tion with *Iarchas* and other Philo- sophers in *India*, and yet *Apollonius* himself expresses the highest Admi- ration of these Philosophers, and used their Magical Rings. And the (x) (x) Hottinger. Histor. Orient. lib. I. c. 8. *Arabians*, both the *Christians* and the *Mohometans*, affirm, that *Apollonius* was the Inventor of *Talismans* : (xx) (xx) Leun- clav. Pandect. Hist. Turcic. n. 130. Which the *Greeks* also report of him.

He (o) taught a Fatal Necessity (o) Lib. VIII. c. 3. of all Events in the highest Terms, as that if a Tyrant should kill the Person whom the Fates had decreed for his Successor, this dead Man should be raised to Life again to succeed his Murderer ; if it was de- termined that any Man should be a Carpenter, he must certainly be one, tho' both his Hands had been cut off ; and if it were decreed by Fate, that a Man should win the Race at the



the Olympick Games, he must do it in spite of his Legs, tho' they were broken ; or if a Man were to gain the Prize by Shooting, tho' he had lost his Eyes, he could not miss the Mark.

(p) Lib. II.  
c. 15.

It (p) happened, that *Phraotes* the *Indian* King was perplexed, how to decide a Controversy, that was brought before him, concerning a Treasure, that had been found in a Field, some time after it was sold : The Question was, whether this Treasure belonged to the late, or to the present Possessor. And *Apollonius* decided it in favour of him, who upon enquiry proved to be the more vertuous and devout Man of the Two, and appeared upon that account to be dearest to the Gods, and whom they must be supposed to design, to enrich by the Discovery of this hidden Treasure : And by this Determination of the Case, it fell to the Possessor. This was to consider not the Merits of the Cause, but of the Persons, and was contrary,

contrary, as *Eusebius* remarked, to all sound Philosophy, as well as to Experience, both which teach us, that bad Men are often more prosperous than the Good.

If we (q) look into the Manners (q) Lib. I. and Behaviour of *Apollonius*, he was <sup>13. VII. 6.</sup> Proud, a Flatterer, and a Reviler. <sup>VIII. 2. 3.</sup> He boasted, that he knew all things; not only all Languages, but even the Thoughts of Men, and yet betray'd gross Ignorance in divers Cases. He boasted that *Vespasian* was obliged to him for his Empire, and magnified his own Merits to *Domitian* upon that Account. One Accusation against him was, that Men styled him a God, and he owned the thing, and maintained it to be lawful and reasonable, in the Presence of that Emperor.

2. His Miracles, if they had been true in Fact, yet would have been deficient in the Manner, and Circumstances, and End of them. In Miracles not only the Works themselves,

selves, but the Tendency of them, and the Doctrine, which they are brought to establish, are to be considered. For Devils may by their Power and Cunning enable ill Men to amuse and raise the Wonder of others. The Doctrine of *Apollonius* being false and wicked, his Miracles could be of no Authority for the Confirmation of it, tho' they were in Truth such as they are pretended to have been.

But I shall shew the Defect of his Miracles also in other respects. The (r) young Woman is not affirmed to have been dead; but *Philostratus* says only, that she seemed to have been so, *τεθνῶσα, ἔδοξα*, and is doubtful, whether *some Spark* of Life might not remain in her. He caused the Fetter, with which he was bound, to fall from his Leg; but we have nothing besides *Damis's* Word for this, which is no better than just nothing at all.

(r) Lib. IV.  
c. 16. VII. c.  
16. VIII. 2.

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He is reported to have vanished from the Presence of *Domitian* at his Tryal; but how incredible this is, has been already noted. However, let us suppose at present, that the Authority of *Damis* is to be held unquestionable, and that *Philostratus* is more to be regarded, than all other Authors, who lived before him, and at the very time when these Wonders are said to have been; and whom it concerned to take notice of them; let us for once rely upon the sole Credit of *Philostratus*, and allow his Fables for Truth: Yet the Doctrine of *Apollonius* being false and wicked, his Wonders must be ascribed to another Power, than that of God. We are not able to know, how far the Diabolical Arts of Magick may reach, and one Accusation brought against *Apollonius* was his being guilty of the Practice of these Arts. And his own way of Reasoning, which he is said to have used to *Domitian*, overthrows whatever can be pretended in Assertion of a Divine Power enabling

F him

him to work these Miracles. When the Emperor commanded him to be bound ; If you think me to be a Magician, says *Apollonius*, how will you bind me ? But if you can bind me, how can you believe me to be a Magician ? In like manner, as *Eusebius* has observed, it may be argued against *Apollonius* : If you be not a Magician, how did you cause the Fetter to fall from your Leg ? If you did cause it to fall off, how are you no Magician ? And if it be an Argument, that he was no Magician, because he could be brought to his Tryal ; it is as good an Argument, that he was a Magician, because he vanished out of the Court.

If he conversed with Ghosts, it only proves him a Necromancer ; and I hope the fondest Admirers of *Apollonius* need not be told, that his Understanding the Speech of Beasts and Birds and Trees has neither Miracle nor Wonder in it, besides the Confidence of his Pretence.

3. As little can be said for *Apollonius* in respect of Prophecies as of Miracles. It is not pretended, that there were any former Prophecies concerning him, unless the idle Story of *Proteus's* appearing to his Mother must be taken for one, and the Omen of the singing of Swans at his Birth be drawn in for another. And whatever Pretence he may have to the Title of a Prophet himself, it was only by his Knowledge of things past, or said by him to have been past; as what Bodies the Souls of Men, or Beasts had before informed, and what had been done by them: Or by his Knowledge of things then in Agitation, as of the Death of *Domitian* a while before he was killed; or of things at the very time of Action, as his knowing at *Ephesus*, the Time when *Domitian* was set upon, and stabbed at *Rome*.

His pretended Knowledge of the Transmigration of his own Soul and of the Soul of others into Men or Beasts, has nothing to support it, but all the Arguments against it,



which can be brought against so absurd an Hypothesis. And supposing them true, there is nothing in the Knowledge of things past, or ready for Action, or in actual Performance, but what the Devil might discover to him. The Devil may know the Secret History of past Ages, he may know what is designed and attempted to be done, and with what Success, and he may know, what Men are doing in very distant Places; and what he knew, he might discover to *Apollonius*.

The Divine Mission of a Prophet must be confirmed not only by the Events of the things spoken of by him; but by the Truth of his Doctrines as well as of the Events: For many things may come to pass by chance, and many more by the Information and Suggestion of Evil Spirits.

Whatever Opinion we have therefore of the History of the Life of *Apollonius*, there is nothing in it to warrant the Pretence, which *Hierocles* formerly, and some, who are more inexcusable now, would make from it. If the  
History

History of his Life be a Fable, as it plainly is, there is no more regard to be had to it, than to other Fables. And tho' it were true; yet he must have been an Impostor. His Doctrine was false and wicked; and neither his Miracles, nor his Prophecies were of any Authority.

This is all, which I thought needful to be observed concerning *Apollonius Tyanæus*. But because the Doctrine of Miracles is of the highest Importance; I shall endeavour to set that, which I take to be the true and received Doctrine upon this Subject, in as clear a Light as the present occasion will permit, being perswaded, that whoever attempts to remove, or unsettle the ancient Foundations, upon which the Authority of Miracles has hitherto stood, can never fix it upon other Principles. A Miracle is a Work of the Divine Power, above the Power of all Natural Causes, or different from the ordinary Course of Nature, in Confirmation of some Doctrine, which is agreeable to Natu-

ral Religion and Moral Vertue, All Operations in the settled Course of Nature are Effects of the Divine Power, but Miracles are the *strange Works* of God, upon particular and great Occasions, more peculiarly effected by himself; though we may not be able in some Cases to distinguish true Miracles from false, but by the Doctrines, in Confirmation whereof they are wrought.

When God has been pleased to send any Person with Commission from himself to instruct and reform the World, Men must judge of the Truth of his Commission by such Principles of Sense and Reason, as are antecedent to Revelation: And the Person sent approving his Commission both to the Reason and Senses of Mankind, must be received as commissioned from God. When any Person by the Power of God wrought a Miracle in Confirmation of the Doctrine, which he was sent to preach; the Senses only of the Beholders could give them Information, whether the Miracle were real  
and



and without Deceit ; and they could be informed only by Natural Reason (supposing they had received no former Divine Revelation) whether his Doctrine contained nothing contrary to the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue. If a Man teach true Doctrine in Points of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue ; yet if he pretend to a Gift of Miracles, when he has none, he is an Impostor nevertheless, and is not to be credited in those things, which he delivers as from God, beyond what Humane Reason instructs us to believe and do. And if his Miracles be such, as that they cannot be detected of Forgery ; yet if his Doctrine be contrary to the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue, we must reject his Miracles for the sake of his false Doctrine, and not receive his Doctrine, because his Miracles cannot be found to be Cheats ; but must conclude, that they proceed from the Power or Delusion of Evil Spirits, since God would never impower any Man to work Miracles,

in order to seduce Mankind into Vice and Error. This will appear, if we consider I. That we are not able to know, what the Power of Spirits over the Visible Part of the Creation may be. II. That the Truth of Doctrine must concur with the Truth of Miracles to prove the Mission of one sent from God, to reveal his Will. III. That when a Revelation is once established upon undoubted Miracles, it ought to be the Rule and Standard whereby to judge of all future Miracles.

I. We are not able to know, what the Power of Spirits over the Visible Part of Creation may be. We may know many things, which they cannot do, but we are not able to know all, which they may do. We know, that evil Spirits have but a finite and a limited Power, and that they are absolutely under the Omnipotent Power of God: We may be sure, that they can never encroach upon the Power and Prerogative of God, nor defeat his end and design in any part of the Creation: And therefore

fore they cannot raise the Dead, because when the Soul is separated from the Body, God alone, who at first united them, can command the Soul back again, and re-unite it to the Body. They cannot impose upon the Senses of Men, when the Object, the Medium, the Distance, and the Senses themselves are fitly disposed for a right Perception of the Object, at least, they cannot thus impose upon all the Senses together, and upon the Senses of Multitudes of Men, continually, for a long time; because this would be against the Order and Design of God in giving us our Senses, and would take away all Certainty of the Perceptions of Senses.

To act against the established Course of Nature, or above the Power of all natural Causes, is to create, or to introduce something new, which was not in the World before, and can belong only to God himself. But the Course and Laws of Nature may be understood, either with respect to the visible part of the Creation



tion only ; or with respect also to the invisible part of the Creation, as it may act upon the visible. One of the most known and certain Laws in the Course of Nature, with respect to the visible and material part of the Creation, is, that No Body at rest, can Move, but by the Stroke or Impression of some Body, which thereby loses so much of its own Motion, as is imparted to the other : But this general Rule has an Exception with respect to Spirits, which can put Bodies into Motion ; and can impart Motion to them, without losing any of their own Motion or Activity ; and thus it may be in many other Cases unknown to us. Spirits have a greater Knowledge of the ordinary Course of Nature than Men can have, and may by applying *Actives* to *Passives* promote and quicken the Natural Course of things, or by withdrawing *Actives* from *Passives* they may hinder or retard the usual effects of Natural Causes. They may by sudden and unaccountable Methods do things, which nothing but the Event could

could render credible, and may surpass all Mathematical Skill, the Operations of Chymistry, or any Human Art or Science.

And if it should be supposed, that Spirits might make *some* Alterations in the ordinary Course of Nature, it will not from thence follow, that they may therefore make *other* Alterations, even tho' they be *less* than the former. Because they act by a limited, as well as a finite Power, and cannot pass the Bounds, to which they are restrained. The Legion of Devils, who had possessed the Man in the Gospel, could not enter into the Swine without Leave: They knew it to be no Consequence, because they had been suffered to do that which was greater, that they might therefore do that, which was less; or that they might have the same Power over a Herd of Swine, which they had had over the Man. They acted but by Permission, and a Permission is no Warrant to do any thing greater or less than the thing which is permitted. Whether the Miracles of the Magicians of *Egypt* were  
real,

real, or Delusory ; they found a sudden stop put to their Power, when they least expected it, whereby they were forced to acknowledge a Supreme Power, over-ruling that, by which they acted. Whilst the Magicians opposed *Moses*, and the Contention between them was depending, *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* might have observed a manifest Inequality, between the Miracles of *Moses* and those of the Magicians ; but when the Magicians had given up the Cause, and were forced to desist from the Contest, and to acknowledge a Divine Power in *Moses*, enabling him to do more, than they could follow him in doing ; there could be no longer any occasion of Suspence in any Man's Mind ; the Case was plain beyond Dispute, when once that Tryal was over, and the Magicians were vanquished by their own Confession. And that it might the more evidently appear, that they acted by a Power, which was not only finite in it self, but limited and restrained in its Acting by a superior Power, they found them-



themselves unable to turn Dust into Lice, tho' they had already done things which were much more wonderful.

We are not concerned to know, how far, and by what Power, the Magicians proceeded with their Enchantments, in Imitation of the first three Miracles wrought by *Moses*; because whatever theirs were, they were not able to stand in Competition with his Miracles. The Magicians made some Opposition for a while, but being forced to yield and give over, they rendred the Miracles of *Moses* more undeniable, than they would have been, if they had met with no Opposition. But it is impossible for us to know, how far the Power of Spirits may extend over the visible World, what the Force of their own Nature is, and under what Laws and Restraints God has placed them, and therefore if the Magicians had used their Enchantments, when *Moses* had not been present, there might perhaps have been no other Means, besides the Consideration of the end and design of them, to undeceive the Beholders.

And

And this likewise might have been the Case in the Wonders of *Apollonius*.

II. The Truth of Doctrine must concur with the Truth of Miracles, to prove the Mission of one sent from God, to reveal his Will. As Miracles must approve themselves to the Senses of them, before whom they are wrought; so the Doctrine must approve it self to their Reason judging according to the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue, before any one ought to be acknowledged as sent from God, to deliver his Will and Commandments to the World. Miracles are as the *Seal*, the Doctrines are as the *Contents* of the Divine *Credentials*: And a Commission from a Prince may be detected of Forgery, sometimes by a counterfeit Seal, sometimes by notorious Falshoods and Absurdities in the Contents, and sometimes by both these ways; and a Commission is never to be admitted for Authentick, but when nothing either in relation to the Seal or the Contents can be proved false. So in the Commission of a Person from God,

God, there must be Concurrence of every thing requisite to prove it true, and give Credit to him, that brings it: The Truth of his Miracles and of his Doctrines must concur in the Proof of it; if either fail, he is a false Pretender. Not that God would ever grant a Power of Miracles to a Teacher of false Doctrine; but the Falseness of the Doctrine may be discover'd, when the Miracles are not discerned to be false by the Senses, but only known and concluded to be so, because they are wrought to an ill end and purpose.

But if the Doctrine prove the Miracles, and the Miracles prove the Doctrines, is not this to prove in a Circle, and in effect to make the same thing prove it self?

I answer: Doctrines taught by Men from God, are either such as Natural Religion and Human Reason teach; or such as these do not, and cannot teach: And the Doctrines, whereby we must judge, whether we ought to receive a Revelation upon the account of Miracles, are the Doctrines,



ctrines, which are known by Human Reason, and taught by Natural Religion. But the Doctrines, which Miracles are wrought in order to instruct us in, are such as only Revelation teaches, in the Mysteries, and Sacraments, and other Institutions of Revealed Religion. Men could discover the Truth of the Operation of Miracles, not by the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue, but by the Senses: Neither could they discern the Agreement of the Doctrines taught with the Principles of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue by the Operation of Miracles wrought to introduce Revealed Religion, but by their Reason: And when the Testimony of Sense concerning the working of Miracles concurred with the Judgment of Reason concerning the Doctrines, in point of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue; this Concurrence both of Sense and Reason assured them of the Truth of the Divine Revelation, and obliged them to receive the Doctrines, which they knew and believed upon the sole Authority

thority of this Revelation. The Contents of a Commission cannot inform us, that the Seal is true, nor doth the Seal necessarily assure us of the Truth of the Contents (because it may be suspected of Forgery) But if both the Seal and the Contents be found to be true, they both jointly assure us of the Authority of the Commission, and lay all the Obligation upon the Persons concerned, which can be enjoined by Virtue of it.

We may indeed be imposed upon by Human Commissions, because the Name and Authority of Kings may be abused, when they have no Knowledge of it, nor Power to prevent it. But God being infinite in Wisdom and Power, we have all the Certainty, which we can possibly have in any case, upon the Principles of Natural Religion in Consideration of the Divine Attributes, that God will not suffer us to be deceived in his own Name, and under the pretence of his own Authority, without affording certain means to discover the Imposture either in the Miracles or Do-

G

ctrines

ctines of him, who comes in his Name.

Christ wrought a Miracle in the Cure of the Man sick of the Palsy to give Evidence to this Doctrine, That he had power to forgive sins, *Mark II. 3, &c.* But if it had been possible for him to teach, That that is not Sin, which is contrary to Natural Religion and Moral Vertue, it must have been also possible, that this Miracle should be false. I maintain that it was impossible for this Man to have been cured in that manner, but by Miracle; and at the same time maintain, that it was impossible for Christ to teach any but true Doctrine. But as this Miracle at this particular time and occasion was a Proof of his Power to forgive Sins; so the Agreement of his Doctrine with Natural Religion and Moral Vertue was a constant Attestation to his Power of forgiving Sins, and to whatever else we read in his Gospel above Humane Reason. Miracles were not wrought to give Attestation to any Doctrine, which might be known without Revelation,  
but



but to give Attestation to such Doctrines, as could not be known without it: And the Doctrines, which may be known without Revelation are those, which necessarily must concur with the Gift of Miracles to prove a Divine Commission. For I am as certain that Murther is a Crime, as I can be, that none but a Divine Power can raise the Dead; and if any one should pretend to raise the Dead, and at the same time make it his Business to perswade the World, that Murther is no sin, I need not concern my self to enquire into his Pretences of raising the Dead; since I certainly know, God would never give that Power to any Man, in order to gain him Credit in teaching such Doctrines.

It is no Absurdity therefore to say, both that if a Worker of Miracles teach false Doctrines, his Miracles are to be rejected as false, and that Miracles confirm the Truth of Doctrines taught by the Workers of Miracles. Because the Doctrines, which receive their Authority from Miracles, are not the same with those, which are known

antecedently to Miracles, and which must concur with them in attesting the Divine Mission of the Workers of Miracles.

III. When a Revelation is once established upon undoubted Miracles it ought to be the Rule and Standard, whereby to judge of all future Miracles. Since the Divine Authority of the Gospel has been infallibly proved by undeniable Miracles, Holiness of Doctrine, and all other Means and Circumstances concurring to establish it; the Doctrines revealed in the Gospel are the Test and Standard whereby to judge of all Pretences of a miraculous Power, or Divine Mission: Because we are now as certain of these Revealed Doctrines, as of the Doctrines of Natural Religion and Moral Vertue, and we have Cautions given us to prevent our being seduced by the Signs and Wonders of Impostors, who would attempt to set up themselves in Opposition to Christ. *Tho' we, says St. Paul, or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel unto you, than that, which we have preached unto you,*

you, let him be accursed. As we said before, so say I now again, If any man preach any other Gospel unto you, than that ye have received, let him be accursed, Gal. I. 8, 9. The Apostle speaks in nothing more positively and vehemently than in this, that no Gospel different from that which had been already delivered, was to be admitted, but rejected with Abhorrence. In like manner, and for the same Reason, if an Angel from Heaven should work Miracles to introduce and establish any other Gospel, he ought to be held accursed, no regard ought to be had to him, but all his Pretences ought to be rejected with the utmost Detestation. The working of Satan with all Power and Signs, and with all Deceivableness of Unrighteousness, the most specious and amusing Pretences to Miracles can amount to no more than lying Wonders; and we have all the Assurance, that they must be false, which we can have, that the Gospel is true. And since the Divine Authority of the Gospel cannot be disproved, but the foundation of God standeth sure,



*sure, and he cannot deny himself; no Doctrine or Miracles in Opposition to the Gospel, or for the Advancement of any other Revelation can, deserve any Regard or Consideration from us.*

If a great King should under his Seal send a Charter into some of the remotest Provinces of his Kingdom, wherein he cautioned his Subjects not to regard any other Charters, which he knew would be sent among them under his Name; forasmuch as this was his true and only Charter, and the Laws of his Kingdom were like those of *the Medes and Persians, that no Decree nor Statute, which the King establisheth, may be changed;* ought not the Subjects to reject any other Charter, that should be brought to them, under whatsoever Pretences, without entring into the Examination of the Particulars contained in the Charters afterwards brought, or of the Seals put to them? And since this must be so in Commissions given out by Humane Authority; at least, if the Laws of any Human Government

ment could be supposed to be unalterable: It must be much the rather thus, when God has established a Revelation upon fixt and unchangeable Laws, and has declared, that he will make no Addition nor Alteration, but that this is the last Revelation of his Will to Mankind unto the end of the World, and for that Reason has cautioned and commanded us to look upon all others, which he foresaw would appear, as false, and upon the Miracles wrought in behalf of them, as Impostures.

We are as sure, that since the Gospel all Prophecies or Miracles, which may have at any time been in Opposition to it, are false, as we are that the Gospel it self is true, and nothing can justify us in giving heed to them; because nothing can invalidate the Gospel of Christ, who has forewarned us to disregard the Signs and Wonders and all the highest Pretences of those who would seduce us from the Belief of his Gospel. The Doctrines there established were to be the Standard of all Doctrines for the future, and

and the Miracles there related were to preclude all Miracles which would be wrought at any time to come, with a contrary Purpose and Design. So that whatever the Miracles of *Apollonius* were, they can concern Christians no farther than to be rejected as false, being wrought by a Man, who himself received Divine Honours, and made it his Business to teach and practise Idolatry, and to regulate the Rites and Forms of it, and recommend it to the World, in Opposition to the Gospel, by which the Heathen Worship is condemned, and was in great Measure overthrown by the Preaching of the Apostles and their Disciples, when *Apollonius* endeavoured to restore it to its former Esteem in the World.

I have shewn that no Credit is to be given to the Relations of Miracles wrought by *Apollonius*, and we may be assured that no such Miracles shall or can be wrought in behalf of any Religion contrary to the Gospel, as have been in Confirmation of it. But strange things may be done by the cunning Artifice of Men, and things much more strange and wonderful by the Power and Subtilty of Evil Spirits, which we need be at no pains to examine and confute, but may despise and reject them upon the Warrant and Authority of our Saviour in his Gospel.

F I N I S.

